

Binding, Unfolding and Evaluating Modern Greek Personal Storytelling: A Discourse-Analytic Study

Alexandra Georgakopoulou

Ph.D.

University of Edinburgh

1993



Thesis Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, and the research reported herein has been conducted by myself. Parts of the thesis have been published elsewhere in revised versions.

Alexandra Georgakopoulou

Abstract

The subject of this study is Modern Greek (MG) personal storytelling, an unexplored yet vital mode of communication in Greeks' everyday socialisation. The investigation aimed to explore its text-constitutive mechanisms and elucidate their context-sensitivity along two axes: culture-dependence and the audience variable as shaped by the distinction storytelling to adults (SA) versus storytelling to children (SC). The data that formed the basis of this research are tape-recorded oral personal MG stories addressed to adults and children, which make up the following two corpora: i. the basic corpus comprising 40 prompted stories and ii. the free corpus comprising 170 naturally occurring intraconversational stories. These were supplemented by a written corpus of 120 stories and an oral corpus of 80 children's stories.

The above data were analysed on the basis of a tri-level functional model of narrative discourse, that of *binding*, *unfolding* (Coste 1989, Bamberg & Marchman 1991) and *evaluating* (Labov 1972). This was critically abstracted from discourse-analytic studies of storytelling as an analytic tool to unlock the stories' local organisation or linear ordering along a horizontal axis (binding), their global organisation or hierarchical ordering along a vertical axis (unfolding) and their expressive or affective component (evaluating). The two specific segmentation methods which were applied to the data for operationalising the binding-unfolding-evaluating scheme were *stanza analysis* (Gee 1985, 1989a,b) and *highpoint analysis* (Peterson & McCabe 1983 and Fleischman 1990).

The data analysis first of all brought to the fore a pervasive tripartite patterning as a culturally-determined mechanism of binding and unfolding. Subsequently, it yielded a strategy of salient macrosegmentation and discontinuity in SA realised mainly by switch reference devices and tense shift. By contrast, SC exhibited a strategy of explicitness at binding-level, and at unfolding-level, a strategy of continuity and paratactic sequentiality reflected in their predilection for discourse markers and their avoidance of perspectival shifts. At the level of evaluation, SA displayed a strategy of experiential iconicism and involvement by means of mutual sense-making whose main exponents were the *proximal devices*. The major ones, that is, the Historical Present and the Constructed Dialogue, exhibited a strong co-occurrence as *dual function* (ie unfolding and evaluative) devices. Their systematic patterns of use corroborated by the third dual function device in the data, namely reiteration patterns, proved to underlie the construction of the global performed or replaying mode of MG storytelling (ie *level of saturation*). By contrast, evaluation in SC was mediated, controlled and less embedded in the narratives. Its main vehicles were a set of *schema-driven* devices and lexicalised markers of intensity.

On the whole, binding, unfolding and evaluating devices formed an interlocking system which in the case of SA promotes engaging narration and propounds an oral-based strategy, while in SC it is embodied in a literate strategy (Michaels 1981, Gee 1985). These different strategies were accounted for by the stories' cultural interpretive frame. In particular, they proved to be motivated by the factors of i. narrative functionality and purpose in relation to the audience- and gender-shaped tellability, ii. the stories' network of power relations and iii. cultural attitudes towards literacy practices. Finally, they instantiated an *interdependent* "cultural grammar" (Polanyi 1985).

Acknowledgements

The three-year "storytelling" of this thesis has had a complex and sometimes painful relation with my life's narrative outside it: they mingled in strange ways, complemented each other or conflicted to the extent that the latter kept the former from developing. People who played a crucial role in both were friends and relatives: storytellers in my thesis and participants in my life's narrative. Without them and their stories, this work would have never been accomplished. I am grateful to all of them for making me part of the narrativisation of their experiences. In particular, I would like to thank my aunt Maria Berdousi, my uncle Thomas Hristou, my friends Athina Hronopoulou, Hristos Hristopoulos, Sofia Iliopoulou, Bessi Friga, Ghiannis Birbilis and Kostas Pirparas, my cousins Vivi and Katerina Hristou along with all the children who eagerly told me their stories, my friend Dimitris Berzamanis and my grandmother Alexandra who when alive provided me with their unforgettable stories, and my "top" storyteller, my brother Takis. From my non-Greek friends, I would like to acknowledge the inexhaustible support of Flavia Nunes and Aubrey Nunes who have in many ways made up for the absence of my family in the years 1991-now. Thanks also go to Sonia S'hiri, Achilleas Stogioglou, Sergios Theodoridis, Thanasis Iliopoulos and Anshumali Chahande, for playing a positive part in my adaptation and stay in Edinburgh. The people to whom I owe a great deal for the "academic" part of this work are my supervisors Mrs Elizabeth Black and Dr Hugh Trappes-Lomax and my friend Dionysis Goutsos. Mrs Black has offered me tremendous personal and academic support and encouragement which has kept me going for these years and for this I am eternally indebted to her; Dr Trappes-Lomax has been a constant source of inspiration: to him and his brilliant, insightful ideas and comments I owe many good aspects of this work. Dionysis has been a friend and a shoulder to cry on for more years than a PhD can include. I am academically and otherwise as grateful to him as words cannot describe. I would also like to thank Dr Dan Robertson for his help with the statistics of this thesis and Mr Keith Mitchell for supervising the initial stage of the research and being extremely available, accessible and helpful. Last but not least of the people who helped this work take shape is Alex Nunes, assistant of the stories' translation, the thesis Appendix and statistics, and computing "supporter", to mention only few: his help, care, self-sacrificing support, love, encouragement and intense presence in my life over the PhD years in rainy Edinburgh are beyond any acknowledgement.

This research would have not been possible without the financial support of the Greek State Scholarships' Foundation (S.S.F.) which funded my MSc course (1989-1990) and most of my PhD study (1990-April 1993), and whose assistance I warmly acknowledge.

Finally, there are three people who are simply an integral part of this work: my father Ilias who has financially and emotionally supported me and has instilled in me my love of Greek orality, my brother Takis who has been a model of self-will and determination for me, a "pilot" in my flights too, and my mother and teacher Fotini, the "guardian angel" of my educational career, who has always been there, even in the absence of everybody else. To them I dedicate this thesis.

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List of Abbreviations

BSA	Basic Stories for Adults (ie from the Basic Corpus)	FSA	Free Stories for Adults (ie from the free corpus)
BSC	Basic Stories for Children	FSC	Free Stories for Children
CA	Complicating Action	HP	Historical Present
CD	Constructed Dialogue	MG	Modern Greek
DS	Direct Speech	SA	Stories for Adults
DT	Direct Thought	SC	Stories for Children
FDS	Free Direct Speech	WSA	Written Stories for Adults
FDT	Free Direct Thought	WSC	Written Stories for Children

Introduction

1.0 Background and Purpose of the Study

The present research was initially motivated by an enthusiastic interest in Modern Greek (MG) storytelling which, through my observations as a member of the culture and exposure to the MG "ethnography" of communication, figured as a most vital mode of everyday communication. It is recurrent in almost every conversational setting as a major means of people's socialising with each other, coming across as an involving and engaging activity, thoroughly enjoyed and sought by the interactants. Even to the linguistically naive, MG storytelling presents itself as a major regulatory force of the society's "ethnographies of interactions" at a cross-generational level. This means that storytelling events constitute an indispensable component of both adult-adult and adult-child interactions, thus embracing the gamut of socialisation and acculturation processes of the MG community. Additionally, it is hard not to notice the whole set of values and discriminatory qualities attached to storytelling. To be more specific, people's "get-together" activities are crucially organised around storytelling events which, reminiscent of a theatrical stage, cast the most favourable light onto the best storytellers; these are greatly valued and gain in sociability and likeability. Having somebody "*pu lei foveres istories*" (who tells terrific stories) as part of one's intimates is a guarantee of entertainment during meetings and outings with friends and relatives. On the whole, compared to the "western" storytelling as described and interpreted in the literature (e.g. Polanyi 1985), the frequency and status of MG personal storytelling as a means of interacting with people would strike researchers as a particularly idiosyncratic cultural element and core component of everyday life.

Thus, it can be argued that it is an absolutely central genre or discourse type (Cook 1989: 50) in the MG speech community, that is, a "*typified rhetorical action based on recurrent situations*" (Miller 1984 in Nystrand 1986: 159) or, an "*activity-type, ie a socially identifiable and recognisably reducible constellation of actions that has social meaning as a whole*" (Lemke 1992: 89). As such, it is expected to constitute a key-

component of the shared construction of meaning and construal of social reality in Greece, as well as to exhibit certain regular and identifiable form and content properties. Based on this fairly general assumption, this research set out to explore the structure and function of MG natural (non-literary) narrative. Thus, its purpose was formulated as follows: to identify and interpret the text-building mechanisms and norms of MG storytelling and the patterns of social action, and cultural attitudes and values encoded in them. In other words, this work, motivated by the centrality of MG storytelling as a genre in the community, is intended to investigate its textuality in relation to both its immediate contexts of occurrence and the wider context of the MG culture. Prompted by the frequency and status of the genre in both adult-adult and adult-child interactions, the research design of the study was set up so as to incorporate storytelling transactions both between adults and between adults and children. The aim was to enrich the basis of the enquiry: looking into storytelling to children along with storytelling to adults adds the contextual dimension of the change of audience and thus constitutes a point of reference for shedding light into the interactional dynamics of storytelling.

The enquiry designated above was narrowed down to a specific sub-genre or instantiation of narrative communications, namely personal (experience) stories. These were chosen as the most characteristic and popular instance of storytelling in MG conversational contexts. Specifically, ethnographic observation suggested that the narration of stories from one's personal life is the prototypical instance of everyday narrative communication in Greece. Satisfying the claim to authenticity (this is a true story), personal stories leave tall tales, legends and other fictive stories far behind as the least favourite ones; at the same time they completely override the other category of "true stories", namely "*vicarious experience stories*" (stories about third parties not witnessed by the narrator). The importance and popularity of personal stories has been alleged at universal level as well: the sharing of a personal experience appears to be a vital cross-cultural need, marking early stages of narrative development. Additionally, personal stories hold the characterisation of the least distanced narrating mode with the greatest personal attachment (Shuman 1986).

The area chosen as the appropriate framework for accommodating the purposes of the study as described above was that of Discourse Analysis. The choice was to an extent self-evident, since this is the area that has embraced the heavy bulk of linguistic research on natural narrative. At the same time, what appealed to the present researcher was the interdisciplinary nature of discourse-analytic studies. In our case, the discourse-analytic framework drawn upon presents a heavy sociolinguistic orientation and to a lesser extent a psycholinguistic interest from the point of view of developmental studies of narrative.

1.1 Need for the Study

The need for the present study can be stated in relation to two levels of research: the level of cross-linguistic research on culture-specific aspects of narrative discourse and the level of research on MG language and discourse. Despite the repeatedly alleged culture-boundedness of the norms and devices of storytelling, empirical research on the storytelling of languages and cultures other than English is still very much of a *desideratum*. As a result, the cross-cultural validity of text-constitutive constraints and norms postulated for English narratives remains to be seen. Thus, the necessity of the present study emanates from its contribution to the line of research which examines language-specific narratives that have not been investigated up to now, though forming a core genre in the culture in which they are embedded. Additionally, while a lot has been said about contextualising storytelling and elucidating the subtleties of its socioculturally situated use, the practice, that is, the systematic examination of real-world stories, is far less impressive (see ch 2). Thus, this study through the qualitative and quantitative analysis of a wide corpus of authentic data intends to both enrich the empirical line of research on storytelling and provide new insights into the theory.

At the level of research in MG, the study does not need to argue for its case. The lack of systematic research on spoken data, not to mention storytelling which is sadly the most neglected discourse domain, though so powerful a genre in the community, makes the need for the present research all the more apparent. The very limited number of discourse-analysis studies in MG are focused on conversation and ignore

the intraconversational storytelling (e.g. Makri-Tsilipakou 1991, Sifianou 1992a). Thus, to the best of my knowledge, there is no work on record which has systematically investigated what can be defined as mainstream MG storytelling. Kostouli's (1990) developmental account of MG narrative was based on controlled data (ie picture-based storytelling) and both natural and personal storytelling were not investigated. The study was conducted in a very small and idiosyncratic community; thus, it does not allow for any generalisations regarding Greek narrative production in general. However, its formulation of a "*system of textual logic with first-order and second-order pragmatic principles*" (idem: 5) that accounts for narrative development yielded the interesting conclusion that the principle of tellability, pre-theoretically defined here as the form of narration as opposed to its content, is deemed great significance due to cultural constraints. This provides evidence for the intuitive view that MG narrative is culturally treated as a form of verbal artistry and as an arena in which one's (re-)creative ability is highly valued.

Interestingly, the only work on MG personal storytelling has been conducted by a non-Greek discourse analyst, namely Tannen (1979, 1980, 1983). Tannen mainly dealt with film-based narration in MG as part of a comparative study with American film-based narration. Her small corpus of MG personal narratives involved women's assault stories which were prompted using the Labovian (1972) technique of elicitation. Thus, spontaneous intraconversational stories are absent in her study. Female assault stories constitute a very poor sample, not to say an uncommon one, of the naturally occurring everyday MG storytelling. However, their analysis by Tannen confirmed the point of departure for this thesis which is the status of MG storytelling as a very engaging activity. Specifically, Tannen (1983: 361) reported a list of features (e.g. repetition, ellipsis, direct quotation, sound-words etc) which contributed to the immediate and involving character of the stories examined. In view of the lack of research in MG personal storytelling, it is hardly surprising that studies on MG adult-child storytelling interaction, an admittedly more specific case compared to adult-adult storytelling, are also missing.

Thus, in the light of the above review, it is legitimate to suggest that the present study fills in a serious gap of research in MG on one of its most vital modes of communication. The intention here is rather than contributing to an existing line of research to call for more studies of narrative as well as of other genres in MG which will investigate situated language use and its relation to the macrosocial envelope of the culture.

1.2 Stating the Research Questions and Hypotheses

Following from the purpose of the study the research question which accompanies it, can be posed in general terms as follows: By means of what sort of texture does personal storytelling function in MG contexts as a central genre and primary means of adult-adult and adult-child interaction? In other words what are its text-constitutive mechanisms and norms? Closely related to this question is the relation of the textual elements of MG storytelling to its immediate context of occurrence and the wider sociocultural context. To put the above problem into perspective, the following general assumptions need to be put forward here:

- a. Narrative construction can be expected to comprise elements which "tie" the text together and make up its structure at a local and global level, and elements which encode the narrator's emotions, reactions and attitudes toward the events narrated. Let us provisionally rephrase the above as elements which are deployed along an organisational axis and along an expressive axis.
- b. There are links between the story and its immediate and wider context of occurrence reflected in the story's form, content and function.
- c. As a result of b, a story's organisational and expressive elements are not given and pre-determined but are crucially shaped by contextual variables and are informed by cultural resources.
- d. Stories occurring in comparable contexts in terms of surrounding parameters

present a regularity in the set of strategies that underlie their organisation and expressivity.

The above assumptions lead to the following expectations:

- a. It can be expected that the organisation and expressivity of MG stories are shaped by and reflect values and attitudes of the MG culture.
- b. MG stories for adults (SA) present certain differences from MG stories for children (SC) in terms of their organisation and expressivity, emanating from the change of the audience variable, which is a major variable of the immediate context.
- c. Audience considerations can also be hypothesised to shape the interaction of the organisational and expressive elements with the function and purpose of the storytelling event in different ways in each case of storytelling (ie SA-SC).

1.3 Organisation of the Thesis

As already suggested, the study adopts a discourse-analytic approach with an interdisciplinary orientation. Thus, it can be characterised as eclectic, in that its concepts and methods are traceable to numerous sources both within the area of Discourse Analysis and within related areas. An inevitable consequence of this pluralism is the occasional need for provision of short literature reviews at the beginning of the chapters, in addition to the general stage-setting discussion in Chapter 1. In these cases, the further illumination of and elaboration on the general framework informs the discussion of the findings in the data and their exemplification.

The first chapter of the thesis provides a picture of the study's theoretical framework through the review of the relevant literature from which it critically abstracts a tri-

level functional analytic scheme of narrative discourse comprising binding, unfolding and evaluating. The model is induced as an analytic tool for unlocking the stories' local and global organisational mechanisms (binding, unfolding) and its expressive elements (evaluating). Chapter 2 discusses in detail the study's research design and the various phases of data collection. Additionally, it presents and illustrates the two methods of stanza-analysis and highpoint analysis which were applied to the data as a means for operationalising the binding-unfolding-evaluating scheme. The discussion also puts forth the findings of preliminary analyses of the data involving dimensions of their situational context which prepare the ground for the core analyses of chapters 3-6.

Chapters 3-6 present and discuss the findings of the data analysis with respect to the stories' binding, unfolding and evaluative. Chapters 3 and 4 focus on their specific binding/unfolding devices, chapter 5 deals with their evaluative devices and chapter 6 investigates the dual function devices, that is, devices which function both as evaluative and as unfolding. All four chapters are comparable in terms of their design and organisation: a short review of the discourse-analytic research on the specific device to be discussed initiates the chapter; this is followed by the findings of the qualitative and quantitative data analysis. The discussion of the findings particularly emphasises and elucidates the audience-related differences that emerge with respect to the devices discussed in each case of storytelling.

In more specific terms, chapter 3 analyses the first finding that the data-analysis brought to the fore concerning the stories' binding and unfolding, namely tripartite patterning. The patterning is discussed as a culturally-determined and orality-associated pervasive mechanism of microorganisation in MG storytelling. While tripartite patterning is a constant of MG narrative communicative style, the specific binding and unfolding devices discussed in chapter 4 are context-dependent, that is, their use and functioning is sensitive to the audience variable as shaped by the distinction of storytelling to adults vs storytelling to children. The chapter comprises two parts: the first focuses on the stories' types of linkage relations and discourse markers and

investigates their role as local and global ties. The second part unravels the binding and unfolding function of devices pertinent to the stories' participant tracking. At the end of the chapter the different strategies underlying the construction of binding/unfolding in SA and SC respectively have been clearly identified.

The discussion in Chapter 5 of the stories' evaluative devices also leads to the formulation of the discrete strategies in which evaluation is embodied in SA and in SC. The stories' strategies of binding/unfolding and evaluating are further elucidated in Chapter 6 which brings to the fore the dual functionality devices. Emphasis is placed on the co-operation and systematic patterns of use of the Historical Present and Constructed Dialogue. It is shown how the orchestration of the two devices' unfolding and evaluative functions underlies the construction of the MG global performed mode. Thus, at the end of chapter 6 the picture of the strategies of binding, unfolding and evaluating as well as the perspectival choices resulting from them in SA and in SC is complete.

Chapter 7 brings together the findings about the stories' binding, unfolding and evaluating by integrating them into their wider cultural interpretive frame. In particular, it demonstrates how the textual findings of the data analysis discussed in chapters 3-6 are accountable for by cultural constraints and resources underpinning contextual elements such as the stories' function and tellability and subsequently shaping their binding, unfolding and evaluating make-up. Chapter 8 summarises the findings of the study and draws attention to emerging issues worthy of further research with special emphasis to MG educational research.

Chapter 1

Setting the Theoretical Framework

1.0 Introduction

This stage-setting chapter will "cut" into the *realm* (Young 1984: 256) of narrative mode of communication by presenting its most basic criterial features. The focus will subsequently be narrowed down to personal stories, ie the category of narrative examined in this thesis, to cover their definitional criteria and *differentia specifica*. As already suggested, the main purpose of the present study is to identify and interpret the organisational and expressive mechanisms of MG personal narration for adults and children. To delineate the theoretical framework in which this attempt is incorporated, the review of the literature will start off with the two most influential paradigms of non-literary narrative analysis, namely that of story-grammars and that of Labov (Labov & Waletzky 1967, Labov 1972). The first is of a cognitive nature and the latter of a sociolinguistic orientation. Each of them is important in its own right for setting the groundstones of the recent discourse-analytic approaches to natural narrative which as will be shown in §1.5, present either explicitly or in terms of their underlying assumptions an intense preoccupation with the ideas of narrative organisation and expressivity which interest us here. Story grammars placed their emphasis on the stories' organisational mechanisms while Labov's model was the first to systematically draw out their expressive (evaluative) elements and put them forth as an indispensable component of narrative construction.

The discussion will then focus on the latest discourse-analytic studies of storytelling. Their review will lead to the analytic scheme of narrative construction comprising the acts of binding, unfolding and evaluating. These will be defined and conceptualised in accordance with the premises of multi-level functional models of narrative. The scheme will be postulated as the analytic tool by which the data will be investigated with the purpose of answering this study's research questions.

1.1 Narrative Mode of Thought and Communication

A need to tell and hear stories is essential to the species Homo Sapiens, second in necessity apparently after nourishment and before love and shelter

Price 1979: 3 quoted in Polanyi 1985: 138

Narrative ability is one of the most basic of man's acquired constructs for organising, making sense of and rendering the data of experience and thus for negotiating with reality. Its modes of communication are widely recognised in humanistic disciplines as "*inescapably fundamental in human life*" (Hymes & Cazden 1980: 131). Bruner (1986, 1990) suggested that filtering a temporally and spatially bound reality through a perceiving consciousness as a device for interpreting experience is a distinct mode of thinking, namely "*the narrative mode*", as opposed to "*the paradigmatic or logicosemantic mode of thought*". The narrative mode is concerned with psychic rather than physical reality, that is, with issues of human experience, beliefs, doubts, intentions and emotions (1986: 14). These issues are dealt with in the two basic landscapes of narration, namely the landscape of action and the landscape of consciousness. The constituents of the former are the arguments of action (e.g. agent, intention or goal, situation etc) whereas the latter comprises the thoughts, intentions, emotions etc of whoever is involved in the action (idem). Contrasting with narrative thinking is the paradigmatic thinking which deals with issues of physical reality, truth, observation, analysis and proof. Its concern is to build theories and explain physical phenomena using the language of abstraction, verification and logic. Discussing the two modes Bruner claimed that cognitive science has mistakenly privileged

the paradigmatic or logical-scientific mode of thinking to the exclusion of the equally important narrative mode of thinking, which strives to put its timeless miracles into the particulars of experience, and to locate the experience in time and place

1986: 13 (also cited in Tannen 1989: 27)

The plea for the recognition of the importance of the narrative mode of

communication is generally based on the argument for its complementarity with non-narrative modes. Narrative is increasingly projected as a major vehicle for the cultivation of skills critical to the engagement in the world of theory and for the socialisation into the rudiments of scholarly discourse (e.g. Ochs et al 1992: 37-72). At the more specific level of discourse construction, the two modes are far from mutually exclusive: any piece of narrative discourse normally presents embedded non-narrative statements and vice versa.

Narrative discourse can be generally defined as a distinct genre both in sociological and in psychological terms. It essentially fulfils Bruner's cognitive-oriented definition of a genre as *"a means through which speakers both cognitively and linguistically structure events in real and fictional contexts"* (Bruner 1986: 13). At the same time it satisfies the sociological Bakhtinian approach to a genre as *"a complex system of means and methods for the conscious control and finalisation of reality"* (Bakhtin 1978: 134 in Rosen 1988: 78). *"Narrative competence"* (McLendon 1977: 159) is alleged to be a social skill acquired as part of a society's repertoire of shared meanings and patterns; in this way, it both reflects and explains social reality (Turner 1981: 137-64). As a result, narrative activity lends itself to specific ways of characterising its texts in terms of certain formal and content properties as well as of the receivers' reactions to it and perceptions of it.

The term narrative is inevitably connected with the term story and any attempt to define story is as a rule part of the attempt to define narrative. However, the definition of both terms as well as their differentiation in terms of scope and coverage is an extremely problematic enterprise. The prevailing view as regards their relationship is that it is hyponymous. All stories are narratives, but not all narratives are stories. Current report narratives, procedural narratives, generic descriptions of what used to be the case in the past, *"irrealis narration"*, that is descriptions of unrealised or hoped-for occurrences (e.g. prophecy, science fiction etc.), and plot summaries are narratives but not stories (for this view see Fleischman 1990: 106-7, Polanyi 1982b: 511). Since this difference is not essential to this thesis and its purposes, from now on the terms

will be used interchangeably as is standard practice in the literature.

1.2 Stories: Some Differentia Specifica

As already suggested, the data of this thesis solely comprise personal experience stories: these form a sub-genre of the broader category of stories. As a result, the *differentia specifica* of narrative textuality which will be discussed in this section apply to personal stories as well. The non-linguistic substratum of stories are previous (real or fictitious) experiences, that is, experiences that took place (or are presented as having taken place) in the past relative to the time of the narration. In general terms stories can be defined as the encoding of a specific past time narrative description of the goings-on in a unique past time storyworld (Polanyi 1985: 41). As Herring (1986 quoted in Fleischman 1990: 101) suggested

the prototypical narrative is factual and time-bound, in that it chronicles a unique sequence of events which took place at a specific point or over a specific bounded interval in time

It follows from this definition that what figures as a prerequisite for stories is their organisation around one or more discrete events which serve the segmentation of the seamless experiential continuum. Though the definitions of an event are numerous and often controversial, in its wide sense it refers to "*an occurrence in some world which is encoded in a proposition which receives an instantaneous rather than durative interpretation*" (Polanyi 1982b: 510). The criterion of the sequential presentation of events (ie sequentiality) has been a *sine qua non* element in most story definitions. In Labov's model, for instance, a minimal narrative is defined as a sequence of clauses that contains at least one temporal juncture, that is, two clauses that are temporally ordered (1972: 359). The criterion of sequentiality was also employed by Labov for the definition of the relation between narrative events and real-life events (experiences): specifically, he argued that in the process of recapitulating and reorganising past experience "*a verbal sequence of clauses matches the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually happened*" (idem, for a different view see §1.6.3).

Another criterial feature frequently occurring in story definitions is the notion of causality. Causality underlies both the "state-event-change of state" and the "goal-based" groups of story definitions which have been formulated by proponents of story grammars (for a discussion see Stein & PolICASTRO 1984: 117ff). A classic definition of the first group is Prince's (1973) claim that a minimal story is one which consists of three chronologically ordered events in which the second causes the third; in other words a story minimally comprises a state of equilibrium at the beginning, its disruption and an action aiming at repairing the disruption. The basis of goal-based definitions (Black & Bower 1980, Johnson & Mandler 1980, Rumelhart 1975, Stein & Glenn 1979 etc) is that this action must be described in terms of goal-directed behaviour. The framework of story grammars also comprises a set of alternative definitions that criticise goal-based definitions as too specific and incapable of distinguishing between stories and non stories. These definitions present more complexity in that they incorporate the element of affective response that must be experienced by a story's comprehender (e.g. Brewer & Lichtenstein 1981, 1982, Wilensky 1980, 1982).

Another element that has recently been increasingly incorporated in story definitions concerns the conveying of the speaker's/writer's attitudes towards the events related. The essence of a story in this domain is that it describes worth telling (tellable) events, that is, events which are -or are presented as being- unusual, interesting and unexpected; in this way, it sets out to *"make some sort of point about the world which teller and story recipients share"* (Polanyi 1985: 16). This view originates in Labov's model of narrative analysis (1967, 1972) and in particular in its notion of evaluation (see discussion in §1.4). On the whole, this last school of story definitions emphasises the function of narrative as part of a social transaction (see §1.5.2.1), that is, as *"someone telling someone else that something happened"* (Herrnstein-Smith 1981: 228). Narrative is thus treated as an integral part of a conversational setting (intraconversational narrative) rather than as an isolated construct. As suggested in the Introduction (also see §1.6.3), this is how storytelling is viewed here as well, namely as a contextualised act which cannot be looked into without taking into account the

elements of the situation of its occurrence.

1.3 Personal Experience Stories (Narratives)

Personal (experience) stories or narratives comprise personal memories as their non-linguistic substratum, that is, pinpointed events that are part of the individual's personal life history. They can thus be simply defined as the first-person account of a past experience of the narrator. Personal stories normally have the lion's share in a person's repertoire of narratives. From a developmental point of view the need to relate experiences that involve the narrating self is linguistically realised in the form of references to past events as early as the age of two. From then on and throughout the preschool years, as Preece (1987) suggested, personal anecdotes are the most frequent form of narration, far more frequent than fictions or fantasies (only 4% of their narrative production) and "vicarious stories" (third-person narration of other people's experiences, commonly in the form of narration of films, television series etc). The same observation holds for adults, who have also been reported to indulge much more in the delivery of a true story, in particular a personal story, than in original fiction (idem).

One main reason why personal narration is favoured so much is found in Shuman's suggestion that it is potentially the least distanced of all narratives and the one with the greatest personal attachment (1986: 195). This view nicely matches Labov's (1972) claim that the retelling of a personal experience necessarily involves a partial reliving of the events which is not the case with vicarious experience stories. However, in addition to the familiarity of the narrator with the events narrated, personal stories present a familiarity (lack of distance) with the storytelling situation too (idem). This is mainly attributable to the participation of the narrator in both the "*realm of the taleworld*" (events conjured up by the story: Young 1987: 15) and in "*the realm of conversation*" (idem), as character and storyteller respectively. To use Goffman's terms (1981: 44) in personal stories the *animator*, the *author* and the *principal* coincide with the I-narrator, in the sense of all three being aspects of the same narrating self. First, the narrator of personal stories is the animator, that is, the talking

machine, the body engaged in the activity of storytelling. He is also the author, that is, that aspect of self which is responsible for the content of the talk, the interpreter of the experience. Finally, the narrator is the figure too: the self displayed through talk, in plain words, the story's main character. Schifffrin suggested that this interesting case of "*participation framework*" (1990: 249), that is, the narrator's portrayal in all three capacities, which is unique to personal stories, underlies their idiosyncratic power to create a widened base of support for the narrator's position (253). This argument can be extended to cover the most commonly alleged function of personal stories, namely the creation of a unique intimacy between teller and listeners. As Stahl (1989: 38) claimed, personal stories are essentially an invitation to intimacy and familiarity, to know and be known. On these grounds they are appropriate avenues for sidestepping the great inhibition that contemporary Western societies pose to their individuals with regard to the development of a sense of intimacy (*idem*).

Though the creation of intimacy alone is an adequate reason for recognising the importance of personal stories in everyday life, personal stories usually go far beyond it through their plurifunctionality in real-world contexts. In particular, for the narrator who recounts a segment of his past, the process of sharing experiences can function as an occasion for addressing and facing issues of intense personal importance and even for solving them. This problem-solving and therapeutic dimension of storytelling is largely a complex product of the narrator's self-exposure and self-revelation and of the listeners' feedback. As Robinson (1981: 78) suggested, the process of sharing experiences can serve as a medium for leading the storyteller to the discovery of their coherence, structure of meaning and value. In the same vein, Pratt argued that one of the most important ways we have of dealing with the unexpected, uncertain and unintelligible aspects of our lives is to share and interpret them collectively (1977: 141). In doing so, that is, in

the art of articulating autobiography... we rework [the experience] to fashion it into a sense which we need to discover for its validity now and to share with others

1988: 77

In Stahl's view (1986: 274), this element of the narrator's vulnerability, self-exposure and self-discovery in personal stories constitutes the essence of their idiosyncratic appeal as a genre. The functions presented above still fail to embrace the diversity and multiplicity of functions that they can exhibit in real-world contexts and to which they owe their importance and popularity. To put it in a nutshell, it is legitimate to argue that *"in order to capture the diversity and richness of human interaction"* personal stories *"span the gamut of human motivation and behaviour which occur in almost any social setting"* (Stein & Policastro 1984: 116).

1.4 Narrative Organisation and Evaluation: Story-Grammars and Labov

1.4.1 Story Grammars

Story grammars emerged as a structural analytic paradigm whose primary aim was to explore the organisation or form of stories. Working on traditional non-literary stories such as fables and folktales, theorists of story-grammars set out to formalise a set of rules proposed as a means to understand human comprehension and memorial processes in relation to stories. Thus, the major assumptions underlying work on story grammars are as follows:

- a. A story grammar consists of a canonical form (underlying story *schema*: for a discussion of schemata see §1.4.2) from which individual stories are generated. In this respect, story grammars are reminiscent of a generative transformational sentence grammar in that they attempt to provide the transformational rules by which individual story structures are derived from one underlying deep structure (Mandler 1978).
- b. Closely related to a. is the belief in the existence of a universal set of defining criteria and organisational features of stories which are *"consistent with daily modes of comprehension and remembering that are also universal, regardless of type of culture or amount of*

schooling" (Mandler et al 1980: 21).

- c. A story grammar accounts for stories' comprehension processes, usually in terms of the construct of a schema.

Based on the above assumptions proponents of story grammars attempted to explore the ways in which the knowledge organised within the story schema interacts with the degree of a story's surface correspondence to its underlying form and how this interaction affects story comprehension and recall (Black & Bower 1980, Bower 1978, Mandler 1978, Mandler & Johnson 1977, Thorndyke 1977, Stein & Glenn 1979, Stein & Nezworski 1978, Stein & Policastro 1984). The experiments, which were mainly conducted with children, provided robust findings as regards the effect of story structure on comprehension and recall. They generally suggested that stories that do not conform well to the conventional story structure tend to be recalled in a more conventional version and that elements observed in their canonical position are recalled better than those presented out of canonical position. The results of both children's and adults' recall of stories led to the formulation of a story category effect according to which a story's setting, beginning and the consequence of a protagonist's attempt to reach a goal are more frequently recalled than its motivating state and the reaction to the outcome of an attempt. These categories derive from Stein's (Stein & Glenn 1979: 53-120, Stein & Policastro 1984: 118) influential scheme of a story's prototypical constituents which are as follows: a. the setting, b. the initiating event that marks some type of change in the protagonist's environment, c. the protagonist's internal response to it, d. the attempt (a set of overt actions in the service of the protagonist's goal), e. the consequence of the attempt (e.g. success or failure to attain the goal) and f. the (protagonist's) reaction to these consequences. This "grammar" is essentially a reformulation of Rumelhart's (1975: 211-36) classic story-grammar model which proposed a set of syntactical and semantic rules for determining the constituent structure and semantic representation of stories respectively.

To expand on the motivations and guidelines of story grammars the discussion will

focus below on the cognitive constructs which underlie their major theoretical premises, namely on schemata and the related notions of frames and scripts.

1.4.2 Schemata- and Frame-Ideas

Terms such as *frames*, *schemata*, *scripts* and *scenarios* were coined within the frameworks of research on knowledge representation systems which is a burning issue in numerous disciplines such as Artificial Intelligence, Cognitive Science, Psychology, Social Anthropology and Linguistics. However complicated the list of such terms might look, the interesting thing is that there seems to be a general agreement on the broad outline of all the approaches which select one of these terms as their foundation. Specifically, the basic principle underlying them is that the mind analyses and interprets experience with the help of highly abstract mental patterns. These are stored in long-term memory, in the form of abstract non-linguistic entities that are based on a large number of experiences and situations and are available for recall, revision and reinterpretation to serve the needs of new situations. Thus, schemata and the related notions are essentially sets of associations based on prior situations, or put in other words, data-structures which represent general and specific knowledge about commonplace and stereotypical situations (e.g. going to a restaurant, having a birthday party, going to the dentist etc., see Minsky 1985, Schank & Abelson 1977).

To make the discussion easier to follow, each of the terms that are commonly used to describe the abstract symbolic representations of knowledge in the human mind will be focused on separately. The term **frame** is one of the most favoured ones. In Minsky's (1985) influential framework of knowledge representation, a frame stands for a data-structure which comprises a network of nodes and relations (246) with fixed "top-levels" and non-fixed "lower levels" (terminals, slots). The latter ones are filled in by specific instances or data. Any key words and ideas of a discourse evoke substantial frame structures drawn from memory with rich default assumptions. The notion of default assumptions is an essential part of the Minskyan frame reasoning and it refers to the automatic filling of slots in the absence of explicit information to the contrary (idem: 247). The result of this process is the instantiation of a frame. Minsky

distinguished between at least four levels of frames: surface syntactic frames, surface semantic frames, thematic frames and narrative frames (252). Thematic frames or scenarios represent conventionalised complex situations and sequences into compact words and symbols concerned with topics, actions, portraits, settings and strategies. Narrative frames are skeleton forms for typical stories, which comprise conventions about foci, protagonists, plot forms, and others, designed to help the listener/reader instantiate the frame in his mind.

Another heavily used term is that of **schema**. Schemata cover the type of knowledge stored in memory that enables people to perform cognitive acts such as perception, production and comprehension. Their history in Psychology is long, starting from Bartlett's work on memory (1932) which put forward a reconstructive approach to information retrieval and recall; according to this recall is not a passive reproduction of a passage, but an inferential reconstruction of it, in the light of a person's active schemata. Schemata are thus treated as powerful mental patterns which account for the structuring of memory and are responsible for the automatic processes on which a person's perception of the world and comprehension of variable situations are based. Reminiscent in various ways of the definition and usage of both frames and schemata is the notion of a **script**. It is normally used as a hyponymous term in relation to the other two. In Minsky's framework, for instance, the term script is reserved for a number of stereotypic situations in which human behaviour is highly predictable and narrowly defined. Schank (1975) and Abelson's (Schank & Abelson 1977) scripts refer to a class of rigid schemata, which are subtly distinguished from other forms of knowledge structure, namely the plans, the goals and the themes. These scripts differ from Minsky's frames only in that they are spatially and temporally organised representations specialised to deal with event sequences.

The terms discussed above and in particular schemata have been in one way or the other picked up by the paradigm of story grammars as cognitive constructs which are superimposed on experience and act as hermeneutic devices for organising and making sense of it. As such, they create sets of expectations about the internal structure of

stories and that guide and facilitate both their encoding and decoding. It follows that the story-grammar preoccupation with processes of text comprehension, recall, summarisation and judgements of importance has been thoroughly based on a schema-approach. Its main contention is that the organisation, verbalisation and retrieval of experience are dictated by schemata. These are viewed as both cognitively and socially constructed, that is, as concepts which are learned and developed in the context of social interactions. Subsequently, having been learned and stored in the memory, they are argued to shape people's understanding of the world (world-knowledge and world-view). In view of the theoretical orientation of the story-grammar framework, its emphasis is placed on the discovery of the universal aspects of the story-schemata (e.g. Brewer 1985: 167-94, Kintsch & Greene 1978: 1-13) rather than on their culture-specific aspects. The latter have been investigated by discourse analysts who have also been fascinated by the schema-ideas (e.g. Chafe 1977: 41-55, 1980). In discourse-analytic frameworks schemata are normally treated as dynamic and relational (interactional) units with social meaning that are constantly shaped by the context and are culturally-bound, instead of being "*a fully-formed and static cognitive ideolect in people's heads*" (Tannen 1979: 142).

Based on the similarities made evident in the discussion above, the present discussion will deliberately ignore any subtle differences in the definition and scope of frames and schemata and any related concepts in order to serve its purposes. Therefore, from now on the terms will be treated as interchangeable. In addition to deliberately skewing the terminological problem, another issue which will be kept outside the scope of this discussion, is that of the applicability of schema-theories in the area of computer systems in which their explanatory power has been seriously questioned. The main reason for this is that any attempts to develop a process system of sufficient sophistication based on them or a knowledge base so rich that it would prove that the proposed mechanisms can work at the level suggested have not been fruitful. This has given sufficient grounds to Artificial Intelligence researchers who work in the areas of mathematical logic and logical inferencing, to criticise frame ideas as being impressionistic, vague and lacking in rigour (see Brachman & Levesque 1985: 245).

The above problems are beyond the scope of the story grammar and discourse-analytic models of narrative which only adopt and use the broad outline of these ideas. Both areas essentially favour the underlying principle of the concepts which is the realisation that

people approach the world not as naive, blank-state receptacles... but rather as experienced and sophisticated veterans of perception who have stored their prior experiences as an "organised mass" and who see events and objects in the world in relation to each other and in relation to their prior experience

Tannen 1979: 144

This prior experience or organised knowledge *"takes the form of expectations about the world and thus saves the individual from the trouble of figuring things out anew all the time"* (idem).

1.4.3 Story Grammars Revisited: Mechanistic Reliance on Narrative Organisation

As sufficiently stressed so far, one of the most pervasive principles of story grammar research is its cognitively-oriented emphasis on structure. This is primarily reflected in its postulate of conceptual units of analysis (ie episodes) which represent higher-order categories designed to capture the hierarchical organisation of a story; thus, the aim is to bind the linguistic reality to the conceptual entities that shape the overall structuring and coherence of the narrative. On these grounds, their approach can be summed up as a *top-down* approach as opposed to a *bottom-up* approach. The starting point of the former is knowledge of global plans and mental representations which guide a text's processing and conceptually anticipate the whole; by contrast, the latter moves within an horizontal axis where following the step-by-step sequence of events helps infer plans and use these inferred plans to anticipate, encode and interpret later events. The strong point of the story-grammar top-down approach is the integration of events into a vertical, hierarchical or non-linear codification: this sheds light on the part-whole interrelationships (Mandler & Johnson 1977: 11ff) and on the ways in

which the parts are layered together to mutually implicate the plot and construct its meaningfulness. As the discussion in §1.6 will suggest, this point of view from which narrative organisation can be looked into can be well integrated with the linear approach to it. Thus, the interdependence of the two approaches can serve as the antidote to incomplete and insufficient accounts of how a story's parts are held together. Their integration is in fact an indispensable element of the conceptualisation of the component of unfolding (see §1.6).

Despite its useful emphasis on the cognitive component of narration and on the top-down conception of its organisation, the story-grammar paradigm is not free from problems. First of all, it has only been applied to a restricted subset of stories, namely that of traditional stories, thus failing to capture *"the diversity of story patterns, even within a single culture"* (Beaugrande 1982: 395). More importantly though, it has exhibited a mechanistic reliance on the stories' organisational component and an exclusive emphasis on story comprehension at the expense of story production. Thus, its criticisms mainly concern its neglect of the dynamics and plurifunctionality of everyday narrative communication *"as a mode of social and cultural interaction"* (idem: 413) in the diversity of real world settings. Closely related to the above is its lack of interest in the expressive element or affective component of storytelling, that is, the lack of focus on stories as a powerful means for encoding attitudes, values and emotions. As Beaugrande (idem: 419) insightfully commented

A story grammar with the ambition of being only a grammar-composed of left-branchings, right-branchings, embeddings, Chomsky-adjunctions and the like- is not sufficient. We need instead a grammar fully integrated into the larger picture of communication and cognition, in which the telling and enjoying of stories is an enduring component of human activity

The repeated criticism for neglect of the stories' expressivity underlies sporadic attempts within the story-grammars paradigm to incorporate notions such as "affect" and "point" which are nevertheless embedded in still fairly formalistic story-grammars (e.g. Black & Bower 1980, Black & Wilensky 1979, Brewer 1985, Brewer &

Lichtenstein 1981, 1982, Wilensky 1982). Currently, story grammars constitute a diverse array of concepts and procedures, some primarily analytic and structural, some more procedural and computer-modelish and some focusing on content (for a discussion of the different approaches see Calfee 1982: 441-9, Stein 1982: 487-508). The main antidote to the story-grammar mechanistic and formalistic reliance on story-organisational relations is Labov's sociolinguistically-oriented model of narrative analysis; this through its most influential notion of evaluation marked a turning point for a gradually increasing shift of interest from the propositional content of stories to their "subjective" element and subsequently to their users and contexts. In comparison with story-grammars, Labov's model has been frequently credited for having succeeded to bring to the fore *"the often forgotten fact that humans are something more than information processing systems"* (Peterson & McCabe 1983: 166).

1.4.4 Labov's "Transformation of Experience in Narrative Syntax" and the Notion of Evaluation

Labov's famous research in the "Inner City" (1972) whose part is the recording of a corpus of "danger of death" narratives, resulted in the formulation of a particularly influential model for analysing stories and in particular personal experience stories. As already seen, in this model the main prerequisite for a text to be called a narrative is the criterion of sequentiality. A minimal narrative is thus defined as a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered: that is, a change in their order will result in a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation. This means that what constitutes the skeleton of a narrative is a series of temporally ordered clauses called narrative clauses: these are perfective past tense main clauses in the indicative mood (idem: 379). By contrast, clauses which are unconfined by temporal juncture, that is, which present a free range of displacement to other positions in the sequence, are treated by Labov as non-narrative clauses.

In terms of the structural scheme that a narrative presents, Labov contended that a fully- formed narrative is built in five parts. *"It begins with an orientation, proceeds to the Complicating action, is suspended at the focus of evaluation before the*

resolution, concludes with the resolution and returns the listener to the present time with the coda" (369). Each of these parts was described as follows:

- a. **Abstract:** it encapsulates the point of the story. It is "*a brief summary statement of the substance of the narrative as viewed by the narrator*" (idem).
- b. **Orientation:** it serves to identify the time, place, situations, persons and their activities (when, where, what, who). Syntactically it comprises a great many past progressive clauses. Its position is at the beginning, after the abstract, but in practice much of its material is placed at strategic points later on.
- c. **Complicating action:** it answers the question "Then what happened?". It is the backbone of the narrative formed by the sequence of narrative clauses.
- d. **Resolution:** it usually contains the last of the narrative or free clauses which began the complicating action.
- e. **Coda:** it provides a sense of completeness by closing off the sequence of complicating actions. It can have the form of a general observation or show the effects of the events on the narrator or bridge the gap between the moment of time at the end of the narrative proper and the present.
- f. **Evaluation:** it comprises the devices by which the narrator indicates the point of the narrative, its *raison d'être*; why it is felt to be tellable and what the narrator is getting at (366). In other words, it is the part of the narrative which reveals the narrator's attitude towards the events related by emphasising the relative importance of some narrative units

over others. Labov (& Waletzky 1967:37) originally claimed that evaluation forms a separate section that occurs right after the complicating action and before the resolution emphasising the break between them; however, he later revised this view by suggesting that it can also be spread throughout the narrative forming a secondary structure.

In the Labovian model, there are two identifiable kinds of evaluation, namely the *external* and the *internal* evaluation. In the former the narrator breaks the flow of the narrative, that is, suspends the action and tells the addressee what the point of the story is, using statements which explicitly evaluate his experience: e.g. "It was the strangest feeling...", "It was really quite terrific" etc. Between external and internal evaluation lie a number of intermediate steps which *embed* the point more and more in the narrative. The first step is for the narrator to quote the sentiment as something occurring to him at the moment rather than addressing it to the listener outside the narrative. The quoting of the narrator as a teller-participant who addresses the evaluative remark to someone else in the narrative entails further embedding of the external evaluation. The attribution of the remark to a third person, again participant in the narrative, is the next step inward. The last technique of dramatising the external evaluation before the narrator exploits internal evaluation devices, is to tell what people did rather than what they said (*evaluative action*).

Internal evaluation is in principle signalled by inter- or intrasentential departures from the basic narrative syntax. Labov distinguished between four kinds of internal evaluation devices:

- a. **Intensifiers:** these include gestures, expressive phonology, ritual interjections, repetitions and exaggerating quantifiers. Unlike the other three types, they are superimposed or added onto the basic narrative syntax without affecting the unmarked form of the narrative verb phrase.

- b. **Comparators:** these involve the use of marked verbal phrase constructions such as negatives, futures, questions, commands, modals and comparatives. The common point of these devices is that *"they move away from the line of narrative events to consider unrealised possibilities and compare them with events that did occur"* (idem: 371).
- c. **Correlatives:** these require complex syntax which succeeds in bringing together events in a single independent clause. The devices subsumed under the category are progressives, appended participles (adjacent verbs in non-finite V-ing forms), double appositives, double attributives and "left-hand" participles (e.g. "an unsavoury-looking character").
- d. **Explicatives:** these are appended subordinate clauses. They can be qualifications connected with conjunctions such as "while", "though", "although" or causal phrases introduced by "since" or "because".

Looked at from a broader perspective, the Labovian notion of evaluation can be treated as an inspired constellation and systematisation of the old preoccupation of both literary and non-literary narratology with the recognition and exploration of a meta-structure or level in a story which goes beyond its referential function and conveys the narrator's attitudes, feelings, points of view and emotions. This concern is traceable to the wide distinction between objectivity and subjectivity (see Benveniste 1971) in language or between the expression of the propositional content of an utterance and the encoding of personal attitudes towards it. As Lyons suggested

subjectivity refers to the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation provide for the locutionary agent's expression of himself and of his attitudes and beliefs

1982: 102

He also added (104) to underscore the importance of the notion, that *"one cannot*

reduce the speaker's expression of himself in his utterance to the assertion of a set of propositions" (objectivity). The functional dichotomy between objectivity and subjectivity is reflected in various well-known distinctions in the literature such as representative vs expressive function (Bühler 1934), referential/emotive (Jakobson 1960), ideational/interpersonal (Halliday & Hasan 1976), descriptive/ social-expressive (Lyons 1977), and transactional/ interactional by Brown & Yule 1983: 1 where all the above distinctions are cited). The notion of expressivity was also treated by Leech (1983) as a separate principle of text production which covers the expressive and aesthetic aspects of communication. On the whole, the concept of the speaker's subjectivity as imprinted onto a piece of discourse goes by various names in the literature among which common ones are that of affect (Biber & Finnegan 1988, 1989) and of (discourse) modality (Lyons 1977, Maynard 1985, 1991). Such broad terms refer to the choice of formal devices expressing the speaker's emotive, mental or psychological attitude and commitment concerning the propositional content of a message, the situation that the proposition describes and/or the interlocutor.

In the area of literary narratology the most influential metalanguage which attempted to capture the distinctions between objective and subjective and referential and non-referential is the Russian Formalists' *fabula/suzhet* dichotomy, and the French Structuralists' (Benveniste 1971) *histoire/discours* (story/discourse). These distinctions are based on a two-level conception of narrative which involves the surface level of the story with the actual sequence of events as shaped and edited by the narrator (*suzhet/discourse*), and the deep level which comprises the abstract, chronological order of the events (*fabula/story*). They have both been alleged to form the substratum of the two major Labovian distinctions, namely that between narrative and non-narrative clauses and that between the referential and the evaluative function of a narrative (see Toolan 1988: 159). The story/discourse (alternatively *mimesis/diegesis*) distinction also underlies Labov's separation of the internal evaluation (ie the signs of the narrator are effaced, the events speak for themselves) from the external evaluation (ie the events are explicated by the narratorial voice). In a nutshell, the common element between the Labovian and the classic literary metalanguage is the need to

distinguish between what is simply reporting what happened and what is developing a plot through the choice of formal structural elements which disclose the narrator's subjective stance towards the events narrated. However, Labov took a further step and by the conceptualisation and systematisation of the evaluative character of storytelling triggered the questioning of the gulf which as Formalists and Structuralists contended, separates the "ordinary", everyday narrative from the literary narrative and its "poetic function" (see discussion in Carter & Simpson 1982: 123-52). Labov's argument for research on natural narrative was that although most analytical schemes for narrative analysis have been applied to complex traditional or literary narrative forms

little will be understood about the structure and function of complex narratives until the simplest and most fundamental narratives have been formally described and related to their social context

Labov & Waletzky 1967: 12

The impact of Labov's study of natural narrative is notable in Speech Act theorists who drew on his narrative analysis and the notion of evaluation in order to put forward the idea that natural and literary narrative are formally similar rather than different. Pratt (1977), whose work is a classic instance of a Speech Act approach to literature claimed that natural and literary narrative are both a sub-class of representatives characterised by the same appropriateness condition, namely the requirement that the events recounted are evaluated. Thus, they are both display texts in that they not only report but also verbally display a state of affairs *"inviting the addressee(s) to join (the narrator) in contemplating them, evaluating them and responding to them"* (Pratt 1977: 136).

While the creation of a metalinguistic rapport between two areas traditionally kept distinct such as literary and non-literary narratology is in itself revealing of Labov's contribution, the impact *par excellence* of his model in general and evaluation in particular is to be found in the discourse-analytic studies of storytelling.

1.5 Discourse-Analytic Studies of Natural Narrative

1.5.1 Discourse Cohesion and Storytelling

The focus of discourse-analytic studies of storytelling can be readily reduced without running the risk of oversimplification to the two axes of narrative organisation and expressivity; the latter has been heavily influenced by the Labovian evaluation (see §1.5.2). These are the two steady points of reference that guide research in the area. As a rule, each of the two foci of interest is dealt with separately or at least not as part of an overt attempt to define and clarify their relation within the process of text-building.

Starting from research which deals with the storytelling organisation, the general observation is that its instances exhibit a very predictable form, in that they are mostly bottom-up approaches. These are empirical studies which start off from the linguistic forms and subsequently apply quantitative analyses to them in order to look into their frequency phenomena. The umbrella term frequently employed for such studies is "*discourse cohesion*" (see Bamberg & Marchman 1991: 278). The term denotes their concern about how specific linguistic devices in narratives of specific languages contribute to the establishment of narrative cohesion, that is, tie together clauses and sentences (*idem*). Devices that have been commonly investigated within the framework of discourse cohesion studies broadly fall into the two categories of temporal devices (e.g. tense shifts, temporal adverbials, aspect markers etc) and referential devices (e.g. participant reference, switch reference devices etc). While the local discourse environment and its local ties have long been emphasised as an organisational matrix within discourse cohesion research, the scope has lately been widening to incorporate interest in cohesion devices as demarcatory signals of structural "meso-level" units (e.g. episodes, scenes). In other words, recent discourse-oriented studies of narrative have brought to the fore a complementary concern with cohesion and prominence in discourse structure. A great deal of research in this respect falls into the category of "grounding" studies (e.g. Hopper 1979, Givón 1987, Talmy 1978, Wallace 1982). The term grounding is chosen here as consonant with the latest tendency in the relevant literature to replace the rigid and dichotomous distinction between a text's foreground

and background with a continuum approach to the issue of saliency schemes in narrative organisation (see Fleischman 1985: 851-82). The foreground-background contrast is *"an extension into the domain of text-structure of the Gestalt figure-ground opposition for the perception of spatial relations"* (Fleischman 1990: 168); as such, it has been extensively employed in natural narrative studies with the aim of capturing their organisation or texture. The essence of the contrast is the recognition of levels of informational saliency in a text signalled through a set of strategies by which its linear organisation is manipulated to bring some items and events into greater prominence. The primary definition of foreground by Hopper & Thompson (1980: 280 ff) is that it is *"the material which supplies the main points of the discourse"* and which forms the *"backbone or skeleton of the text"*. By contrast, the background is *"that part of a discourse that... merely assists, amplifies or comments on the foreground"*, that is, *"puts flesh on it"* (idem). The foreground-background conceptualisation of narrative organisation boosted cross-linguistic research into narrative structure that aimed at identifying the formal means which different languages mobilise to mark saliency. However, the criteria employed for defining foreground and background and for mapping them onto grammatical constructions have been so controversial that the notions are justifiably considered to be notoriously slippery.

Initially, foregrounding was treated as consisting of the temporally ordered clauses of a text, ie Labov's "narrative clauses" in narration. By this definition, perfective action verbs in main clauses make up the backbone of a narrative which is "assisted" by imperfective stative verbs and various types of subordinate clauses. This view has been sufficiently challenged in particular with respect to the correlation between foreground/background and main/subordinate clauses (Dry 1983, Reinhart 1984, Thompson 1984). Foreground has also been argued to stand for what is humanly important. Typical here is Hopper & Thompson's claim that foregrounded situations are situations of high transitivity. The criticisms attached to this view (e.g. see Chvany 1984: 247-73) can be summed up as follows:

while the criterion of intrinsic importance is psycholinguistically motivated... we cannot assume cross-cultural unanimity about what is interesting or important and therefore intrinsically foregroundable

Fleischman 1990: 172

The same applies to the comparable criterion of importance for plot development; by this, the foreground is argued to consist of clauses that move narrative time forward (Dry 1983: 19-53). As a rule, such clauses make reference to temporal points rather than spans of time. Atelic verbs can exceptionally belong to the foreground only when accompanied by perfectivising elements such as temporal adverbials (e.g. then).

While all the above criteria present among others the weakness of not having been borne out in cross-linguistic research, the definition of foregrounding as a process of making an element salient by means of its contextual placement succeeds in "*obviating the temptation to postulate as quasi-universals grammatical correlates of grounding that are in fact only cross-linguistic tendencies*" (Fleischman 1985: 854). By this definition, the emphasis moves from the intrinsic importance toward a contextually determined relative saliency as a determinant of foreground (Fleischman 1990, Polanyi 1981a, Polanyi & Hopper 1981). What renders an element salient is its contextual unpredictability or unexpectedness, in other words its departure or *internal deviation* from the locally established textual norm (also see van Peer 1986). This conceptualisation of foregrounding can be traced back to the Russian Formalists' notion of *defamiliarisation/deautomatisation* or *estrangement* (see discussion in Wales 1989: 155) which also refers to the process of departure from the textual norm. The idea of highlighting elements against the text's background is on the whole an underlying theme in various influential literary terms. Fowler's notion of *localisation* (1981) is a typical example. The term is defined as the strategy of breaking the ongoing textual norm of a narrative at certain points which are, in this way, highlighted (75). In general, grounding studies with the exception of the ones which adopt the above "contextual" criterion, can be characterised as "linear" approaches to narrative organisation. This is mainly exemplified in their strong adherence to the notion of sequentiality which guides the creation of inductively developed models that

move in a text only in the form of sequential dependencies (ie implications, predictions). As Young (1984: 246) argued, proponents of "*lineal codifications... foreground the sequential organisation of stories...*": in other words, they

tend to regard the necessarily sequenced elements as the syntagmatic axis of the story and to fit the nonsequential elements in and around that axis... An artefact of this codification is that unsequenced elements appear peripheral to analysis

As a result, "*elements whose properties are not sequentially determined*" are frequently forced "*into spuriously sequential arrangements*" (idem). Lineal codifications go hand in hand with bottom-up approaches to narrative organisation and they both suffer from lack of ability to move from the "trees" to the "wood", that is, from the organisation of the parts to the organisation of the whole and its global hierarchical perspective. As already seen, focus on the part-whole interrelationships in the light of a story's overall theme characterises the story-grammar paradigm, which is a classic representative of a top-down way of moving into a text (see §1.4.2).

However, the long-lasting isolation between linear or bottom-up and non-linear or top-down approaches to narrative organisation as two mutually exclusive approaches which suit narrative production and comprehension respectively, is being gradually replaced in the literature by an increasing hint of integration. The first studies to have pointed to this direction are "discourse cohesion" works which replace the rigidly linear approaches with the postulation of saliency schemes and constituency analyses (for a discussion see Bamberg & Damrad 1991: 651). A classic approach here is Longacre's rank hierarchy model (1983, 1989) whose postulate of "bands" (levels) in the text attempts to combine concerns of *macrosegmentation* (ie macro-organisation, gross textual divisions and their relation to the whole) with *microsegmentation* (intersentential relations within local spans of the text. This integration was further pursued in the area of discourse-analytic studies of narrative development (e.g. Bamberg 1987, 1990, Berman 1988, Karmiloff-Smith 1985, Slobin 1990). The primary aim of these studies is the investigation of children's developmental stages of narrative

competence, a process which has made apparent the need to integrate the two aspects of narrative construction and comprehension, ie the top-down and bottom-up. As a result, the organisation of children's narratives was explored as both a linearisation process of events and as a matter of a hierarchical ordering along the story's implicit vertical axis which arrays elements into relationships of mutual implication. In other words, the local and the global narrative organisation were amalgamated and the linearisation of event "knots" in a horizontal dimension was investigated along with their vertical expansion. This integration will be concretised and conceptualised here through the binding-unfolding pairing (see §1.5).

1.5.2 Discourse-Analytic Approaches to Evaluation

1.5.2.1 The Contextualisation of Storytelling

The notion of the Labovian evaluation has acted as a hallmark and a catalyst in discourse-oriented studies of natural narrative in that it served as an ideal point of departure for incorporating contextual approaches to storytelling, that is, for looking into the dependence of stories on their immediate context of occurrence and on their sociocultural framework. These approaches have been informed by anthropological work (e.g. Firth 1957) and by research on the ethnography of communication and the analysis of conversation (e.g. Bauman 1984, Goodwin 1984, Karen-Watson 1977, Mandelbaum 1987, Sacks 1972, 1974, Schegloff 1972). The above lines of tradition treated stories as shifting and portable events that are subject to changes and revisions as a result of their contextual influences (Herrnstein-Smith 1981: 75). In the same vein, both their form and content were argued to be crucially shaped and conditioned by elements of the immediate and the wider context.

The study of evaluation or more generally of the expressivity of storytelling has proven to be an area in which the need to incorporate contextual influences, in particular in the form of cultural constraints and conventions, emerged most forcefully. The dependence on sociocultural factors of the devices by which a story is presented and recognised as being worth telling was pinpointed even in Labov's (1972) discussion of evaluation. Labov reported that external evaluation is a feature

characterising middle class storytellers as opposed to internal evaluation which is much more favoured among working class black storytellers of the Inner City. Discourse studies of the stories' evaluation component that followed Labov's work fortified the argument by demonstrating the dependence of reportability on the socially and culturally interesting and on the culturally appropriate or preferable ways for signalling it. As Polanyi insightfully claimed about storytelling in general:

what stories can be about is to a very significant extent culturally constrained: stories, whether fictional or non-fictional, formal or oft-told or spontaneously generated can have as their point culturally salient material generally agreed upon by members of the producer's culture to be self-evidently important and true

1979: 207

Personal stories in particular were found to revolve around socioculturally sanctioned plots and points (Johnstone 1990: 129) thus representing a breakthrough of cultural reality into personal reality (Stahl 1989: 34). On the whole, the discourse-analytic study of evaluation served as a standpoint from which the culture-specificity of storytelling in social and ethnic groups within the same culture as well as in different cultures was investigated. Polanyi's work (1979, 1981a,b, 1982a,b, 1985) is a characteristic example of this type of research: it holistically assessed a community's tendencies in narrative use in relation to their cultural grammar of values and attitudes by means of focusing on their evaluative devices. Comparably, Tannen's work (1982, 1983, 1985, 1989) brought to the fore evidence about how different cultures narrativise experience by looking into their stories' expressive-level devices, namely the involvement strategies and structures of expectations (see §1.5.2.2). Finally, an area which has repeatedly manifested the need to take into account the view that culture channels story production so that narratives are essentially *loci* of values and attitudes, is that of narrative development. Studies of children's narratives have convincingly demonstrated that difference in the sociocultural background implicates difference in narrative construction norms and "ways of telling" (e.g. Gee 1985, 1989a,b, Heath 1982, 1983, Michaels 1981, 1991, Michaels & Collins 1984, Nichols 1989, Scollon & Scollon 1981).

1.5.2.2 Empirical Studies and Alternative Notions

As suggested above, the overall effect of the notion of evaluation on discourse studies of narrative can be summed up in that it raised awareness of the stories' contextualised nature. Additionally, however critical narratologists and discourse analysts have been of it, its introduction to the study of storytelling constituted a breakthrough which implicated a tremendous shifting of attention towards the subjective component of narration. This is reflected in the fact that there are hardly any instances of latest research on storytelling which have not in one way or the other been pre-occupied with concepts that characterise its expressive-level functioning. On the whole, there are two major tendencies in the literature concerning the identification of specific evaluative devices and of their relation to the Labovian model. The first tendency is to use Labov's evaluation as the basis of empirical studies and attempt to refine, extend or on the whole make it more operational depending on the type of research undertaken and the particular data employed. A typical form that studies belonging to this tendency take is to break down Labov's initial categories of evaluation into numerous more refined categories which are subsequently used as a grid for identifying a text's specific evaluative devices (e.g. see Polanyi's work: 1979, 1981a,b, 1985). Classic representatives here are studies of evaluation embedded within the framework of narrative development. The most typical example is Peterson & McCabe's work (1983) on children's narratives which identified 21 categories of evaluative devices through the analysis of 288 narratives. The rest of the instances of research in the area are less prolific in the identification of evaluative categories and normally reduce them to some or all of the following devices: gratuitous terms (e.g. very, just, really), stressors (marked emphasis in voice), negation, causal explanations, characters' speech and references to mental states (Kernan 1977, Umiker-Sebeok 1979, Hicks 1990, 1991, Bamberg & Damrad 1991, Hudson & Shapiro 1991).

The second predominant tendency with regard to the stance of discourse analysis towards the Labovian model of evaluation is to employ alternative concepts for the study of the stories' expressive level. Nevertheless, these fail to divorce themselves from the basic Labovian principle and conceptualisation of evaluation and they thus

bear various degrees of similarity to it. One such notion is that of *tellability* which was originally introduced by Labov (1972) himself and ever since employed in the wide sense of "worthiness", that is, without committing itself to the actual syntactic devices of evaluation (e.g. Fludernik 1991, Pratt 1977, Sell 1985, Shuman 1986, also see discussion in §1.6.2). Another notion which bears an explicitly stated resemblance to Labov's evaluation is that of *performance features*. The term was coined by Wolfson (1979, 1982) to refer to formal features which characterise the category of performed narratives defined as dramatised oral narratives. The list of performance features is more restricted than that of the Labovian devices of evaluation: specifically, it comprises expressive sounds, sound effects, motions and gestures, repetition, direct speech, historical present and asides (the narrator's suspension of the action to explain what is going on behind the scenes). Wolfson (1982) readily pointed out the resemblance between her performance features and the Labovian evaluation, suggesting that the difference between the two is terminological rather than essential.

Tannen's cross-cultural work on oral and written narratives also includes two terms which are related to Labov's evaluation: *involvement strategies* (1982, 1983, 1985, 1989) and evidence of *structures of expectations* (1979, 1989). Involvement strategies comprise stylistic devices which present the discourse in a way that shapes the listener's engagement in it (1989: 28). In terms of Bateson's framework (1972) they can be said to send a metamessage of rapport between the addresser and addressee of a narrative by conveying the storyteller's attitudes towards (ie involvement with) the events narrated. Thus, by this definition involvement strategies are comparable to evaluation in that they too attempt to capture the expressivity elements of storytelling. More importantly though, the linguistic phenomena that Tannen characterised as involvement strategies (e.g. repetition, ellipsis, formulaic expressions, expressive phonology, direct speech etc.) are incorporated in Labov's typology of evaluative devices. "Evidence of structures of expectations" (1979) on the other hand covers a series of surface linguistic elements of a story (e.g. repetitions, false starts, negative expressions, hedges, omissions, contrastive connectives, moral judgements, generalisations, adjectives, adverbs etc) which mirror the storyteller's culturally-

determined beliefs and attitudes towards the events related. Tannen explicitly acknowledged the similarity of the notion of evidence of expectations to the Labovian notion of evaluation as follows:

since the point of a narrative is directly related to the expectations of people in the culture in which it is told, it is not surprising that Labov's evaluative elements are closely related to [my] notion of evidence of expectations

Tannen 1979: 145

Finally, a common tendency in the literature on expressivity devices is the use of general rather than narrative-specific notions such as subjectivity (Wright 1992), affect (Biber & Finnegan 1988, 1989) and (discourse) modality (Lyons 1977, Maynard 1985, 1991) in the place of- or along with the concept of evaluation as appropriate labels for the narrator's subjective stance.

1.5.2.3 Evaluation and Global Discourse Structure

The last but not least important tendency towards evaluation in discourse-analytic studies of narrative involves moving from defining its role within a framework of linear codification to viewing it as a text-building mechanism and a "*coherence*" option within a text's hierarchical ordering. The term coherence, a notoriously controversial term in the literature, is employed here in its crude definition of the formation of a story's global discourse structure with meaningful textual segments and elements which fit in together. This shift of attention to the role of evaluation in a story's construction of coherence implicates a different conception of its functionality in that it frees the notion from its association with a text's background that the Labovian treatment of it entailed. As Toolan suggested, the criterion of sequentiality as a definitional feature of narrative clauses and narrative backbone implicated that evaluation is "*external and in a way intrusive*" (1988: 159) compared to the "*heart of the matter*", that is, narrative clauses. To push the argument further, such a treatment of evaluation emphasised its poetic and embellishing function as a meta-structure superimposed onto the story's organisational template a posteriori; it thus neglected

or underrated its importance to the construction of the story's textuality. The first to question the above role was Polanyi's work which put forward the foregrounding functioning of evaluation. Defining a text's foregrounding in terms of intrinsic and "contextual" importance, Polanyi & Hopper (1981) postulated that it is inclusive of evaluation: all evaluated items are foregrounded but not all foregrounded items are evaluated. Evaluated items are foregrounded either because they are intrinsically (e.g. culturally) salient or because they are rendered salient by means of their contextual placement. In this latter case they are realised as *"linguistically signalled departures in weight from the local norm of the text"* (1985: 21). Adopting the "grounding" position, Polanyi also suggested (1985: 22) that evaluation is a scalar rather than binary category. Accordingly, it presents itself as the process of assigning various degrees of prominence and different weights to various textual elements. This allows a narrative proposition or part to be more evaluated (highlighted) than others (e.g. contain more evaluative devices). Additionally, it implies that any device of evaluation can be used non-evaluatively in a particular context or can be so overused that it becomes a textual norm and thus ceases to function evaluatively (idem). The strength of this approach to evaluation lies in that it allows for its operationalisation on the basis of the specific data examined each time instead of imposing a set of evaluative devices as constructs pre-determined and fixed a priori.

Polanyi's alignment of evaluation with foregrounding can be treated as the first step towards re-defining the role of evaluation with respect to discourse coherence. As with the integration of bottom-up and top-down approaches to narrative organisation, this re-definition was attempted more systematically within the framework of research in narrative development. Specifically, in a recent study by Bamberg & Damrad (1991: 691), it was forcefully argued that evaluative comments

not only function as a link between sequential events, but at the same time - and more importantly- they point to the hierarchical perspective from which the narrative gains coherence. Therefore, they give "meaning" to the individual events and actions. Put more broadly, shifts... to evaluative comments signal a shift in narrative orientation from a focus on the organisation of the particulars to the organisation

of the whole... Therefore, from the organisation of the whole, one can understand why the reported events are organised the way they are, ie what the point of the narrative is at this stage in the conversation/discourse

In this framework, evaluation is explicitly recognised as a function with a dynamic role in the story's tapestry of coherence relations. Bamberg & Damrad (706) further attempted to incorporate the above view in a theory of mind development. They suggested that the development of the ability to use evaluative comments is part of the skill to decontextualise (differentiate) particular events and to rearrange them in a more complex, hierarchical order (hierarchical integration). Evidence for this was provided by their finding according to which younger children do not only differ from older children in the variety and types of evaluation but also in the mode of employing the act of evaluating: younger children evaluate locally specific events rather than globally important events. In other words, they lack the skill of strategic use of evaluation with respect not only to the horizontal but also to the vertical order of narrative organisation. Thus, Bamberg & Damrad concluded that the shift towards higher-order hierarchical structures when evaluating is a function of age and mental development.

The above attempts to re-define the role of evaluation can be argued to realise the same tendency of integration of the bottom-up with the top-down approaches which is also demonstrated in studies of narrative organisation. One of the pre-occupations in this framework is the exploration of the role of evaluation in enhancing a text's comprehension and recall. However, due to the limited number of studies and their dubious findings there is no definite view yet regarding this issue. For instance, while Giora (1990: 299-319) strongly claimed that evaluation has a crucial bearing onto a text's hierarchical structure and thus facilitates its comprehension by helping the listener/reader establish its discourse topic, Shen (1981: 681-98) reported that this is the case only when "hierarchical ambiguity" comes into play. Finally, McCabe & Peterson (1990: 73-82) found that the memorability of narratives is enhanced by evaluation only in the absence of sensational content.

1.6 Binding, Unfolding and Evaluating: A Tri-Level Functional Model of Narrative

This chapter so far has presented and discussed the lines of research into the organisational and expressive elements of non-literary narrative. The review of research into narrative organisation first looked into the story grammar paradigm and then moved to discourse cohesion and narrative development studies. The investigation of these lines of tradition suggested that there is an increasing recognition of the local and global narrative organisation as separate but interrelated aspects and an integration of bottom-up with top-down approaches to narrative construction. As regards research into expressivity, it was shown that it has been heavily influenced by the Labovian evaluation which formed a point of departure for discourse analytic studies of the contextualisation of storytelling. In this section, the different lines of tradition outlined so far concerning the organisation and expressivity of storytelling will be drawn together by means of putting forth the tripartition **binding-unfolding-evaluating**. This is a narrative-intrinsic functional analytic scheme for exploring a story's organisation and evaluation. Its components are postulated here as interrelated planes (ie levels) on which rest the identification and analysis of a story's text-building mechanisms. Their conceptualisation brings together and systematises the distinguishable tendencies and guidelines of the latest discourse-analytic approaches to storytelling. In particular, as will be shown below, it crystallises two distinct tendencies: the multi-level functional approaches to discourse and the integration of top-down and bottom-up procedures in the exploration of narrative organisation and evaluation.

Locating the construction of narrative textuality in more than one interdependent realm represents an extension of the functionalist view of language as a multiple coding system that comprises different levels (strata) into the domain of discourse analysis. The classic functionalist approach here is Halliday & Hasan's (1976) tri-level model which identifies three distinct meta-functions in language: the *ideational* function which involves the propositional content of utterances, the *textual* function which is concerned with the language's resources for creating cohesive discourse (texture), and

the *interpersonal* function which embraces the social, affective and conative functions of language and thus involves the expression of attitudes toward what is being talked about, toward the text itself and toward the participants in a communicative situation (also see discussion in Fleischman 1989: 15). A difference between the multi-level functional approaches to discourse and the Hallidayan model is that the latter presents the requirement that all three functions are realised simultaneously in a sentence. However, the impact of the Hallidayan model is such that it underlies virtually any single attempt for multi-level analyses of discourse. Specifically, the model served as the basis of Traugott's (1982) identification of three components in language, namely the *propositional* (cf *ideational*), the *textual* and the *expressive* (cf *interpersonal*) component. Traugott's adaptation of Halliday & Hasan's model in turn underlies Fleischman's (1989, 1990, 1991) four-level functional model of discourse analysis. Fleischman suggested that a text's sentences can realise meanings in the referential (ideational), the textual, the expressive and the metalinguistic component (the ability of language to refer to itself). The model was subsequently employed for accounting for the functioning of tense in fictional and non-fictional narration.

Comparably, Schiffrin whose work is a genuine representative of multi-level analyses in conversational discourse, upheld Traugott's tripartition, ie propositional-textual-expressive, as a tool for exploring the meanings and relationships that linguistic forms convey (1992b: 784). At the same time she postulated the following "*planes of talk*" as a framework for investigating the functionality of forms in conversational contexts: the ideational level (plane) that covers the propositional content of speech; the level of exchange structures that cover the turn-taking mechanisms; the level of action structures that coordinates speech acts, the level of information states which covers the participants' knowledge and meta-knowledge regarding the ongoing discourse, and finally the level of participation framework that marks the speaker-hearer roles and relation (ie interpersonal) during the conversational event (see Schiffrin 1987: 35ff).

The primary idea underlying the line of research presented above is the *anisomorphism* and multiplicity or non-exclusivity that the form-function relationship manifests: this

means that a single form can present more than one function in that it can convey meanings and relationships in more than one discursal component. Analogously, one and the same function can be realised by more than one linguistic form. Schifffrin (1992b: 781) suggested in favour of allowing for this anisomorphism that it

reflects our cognitive capacity to take a set of conceptual meanings that are themselves tightly connected (that is, there are inextricable links between the way we conceive of occurrences, the way we organise units in texts, and the way we draw inferences and reason about consequences) and to linguistically realise those conceptual meanings in a certain way

The framework of the multi-level functional approaches to narrative is adopted here as the one which forcefully addressed, problematised and at the same time suggested ways of viewing the relation between narrative organisation and evaluation or expressivity. This was an important advance on previous discourse-analytic research which, as already mentioned, though constantly evolving around the organisational and evaluative functioning of stories, avoided addressing the relation between the two.

The tripartite scheme postulated here, roughly speaking, covers the textual and expressive components of the multi-level functional analyses. The first difference between their schemes and the present one is that the latter is genre-specific and in particular narrative-specific or -intrinsic. For example the notion of evaluation covers a set of phenomena specifically identified in storytelling. Additionally, it does not coincide with the term expressive or other similar ones (e.g. emotive, interpersonal, interactional etc) ; the latter embrace a wider range of phenomena capturing a text's interactional dynamics as shaped by its communicative context. By contrast, in the present scheme all three realms are equally treated as exponents of a story's interactional dynamics and as "*contextualisation cues*" (Gumperz 1982). A further point of differentiation between the scheme and the standard distinction between textual and expressive devices is that the latter implies a linear and sequential interpretation of expressivity as a sheer collateral embellishment structure. However, as suggested in §1.5.2.3, the view adopted on evaluation is that it is not simply a

"poetic" superimposed structure but a means of pointing to a story's global-level hierarchy through encoding the narrator's attitudes towards the events narrated. Thus, all three components, ie binding-unfolding-evaluating, have a bearing onto the construction of a story's coherence.

The narrative acts of binding and unfolding were adapted from Bamberg (1987, 1990, Bamberg & Marchman 1991) as necessary refinements of the "textual" component which figures in relevant schemes. The terms originated in Coste (1989, ch 7) and were subsequently endorsed by Bamberg's work on narrative development to account for the following two distinct orientations of the act of narrating: the linear ordering of event descriptions along a horizontal (temporal) axis and the projection of this *"horizontal concatenation... onto an implicitly vertical axis"* (Barthes 1975: 243 in Young 246). Binding covers the former orientation by working at the local level of adjacent clauses, ie of "hooking up" one clause with the previous and subsequent clause (boundaries to the right and to the left). Unfolding is on the other hand concerned with signalling higher-level relations of saliency, ie of how events are grounded in one another and how they are to be understood with respect to the story's overarching global theme. An issue which has to be clarified here concerns the use of these terms for the purposes of the present thesis in relation to Bamberg's work: specifically, an important point that distinguishes between the two is a difference in emphasis and point of view from which binding and unfolding are approached. Bamberg's emphasis is clearly psycholinguistic: his main focus is on investigating the cognitive processes which determine the narrator acts of binding and unfolding both from a developmental and a cross-linguistic angle. In particular, his interest lies in the specific ways in which adults and children *differentiate* (ie create local ties) *"between events referentially along the horizontal axis and integrate events into the vertical, hierarchical organisation of the overall theme of the narrative"* (Bamberg & Marchman 1991: 277). Comparably, one of his major research goals is to establish the ways in which *"the typological character of particular form-function relations in a given language"* affects the processes of binding and unfolding. To achieve the above aims, Bamberg worked with picture-based stories: this enabled him to investigate the

linguistic realisations of a steady and pre-defined conceptual story organisation. Additionally, it formed a point of departure for unifying the "linguistic" tradition of discourse-analytic studies of narrative with the story-grammar line of research which provides cognitive analyses *"of how story schemas, or mental structures, are brought to bear in processes of story understanding"* (278).

By contrast to the above, the emphasis of this thesis is clearly discourse-analytic: its purpose is to investigate the textual effects and devices (ie formal features) of binding and unfolding in MG narratives rather than the cognitive processes which determine them. Accordingly, the cognitive framework of schemata will only be brought in to account for generic regularities and consistencies in the text-building mechanisms of the stories examined. In addition, the data of this thesis, being in the form of naturally occurring storytelling, does not lend itself to the cognitive type of investigation that Bamberg attempted: in his case, the pictorial sequences provided well-defined and pre-determined event-chains (ie conceptual entities) which needed to be linguistically realised by the subjects. Thus, his interest was in the pairing of the linguistic and conceptual organisation. In our case, the focus is on the "contextual" aspects of binding and unfolding, that is, on the ways in which they are shaped by elements of their immediate and wider context of occurrence (see §1.6.3).

In addition to the above, two terminological issues need to be clarified regarding the use and definition of "binding" and "unfolding": first, the term "unfolding" as defined by Coste and then by Bamberg should not be confused with its pre-theoretical meaning of the text's moment-to-moment unfolding which is associated with linearity and sequentiality. Second, the notion of "theme" or "discourse topic" with which unfolding is associated is crudely defined here as "what the story is about", that is, what its organising thematic principle, overall conception or germinal idea is (e.g. Bamberg & Marchman 1991: 279, Schiffrin 1985: 287, Brown & Yule 1983: 71). As a result, it is treated as the story's "agenda" whose management is taken over by binding/unfolding. To concretise the relation of unfolding to a story's overarching theme, consider the following example from a story belonging to the data of this

thesis. The story's theme is the narrator's firing of a shotgun as a child. The actual firing is preceded by a "non-successful" attempt. The bold phrases below exhibit an unfolding function in that they act as signposts of the story's global theme: in particular, they instantiate the two attempts at shooting. In this way, they belong to the means by which the story's discourse theme is linguistically coded and signalled. Their unfolding function is superimposed onto their binding function of creating local ties to their right and to their left:

(1) ... *Pao ki egho na to kano na kani krik na to xekremaso. Itan enas ghantzós etsi ki itane mesa ke dhen to eftana alla itan etsi plaghiasto ke to eftana kato pu kremotan apo ti luridha. To travao tu sikono ta kokoria edaxi to ha etimo. Dhen eplena ta piata egho kitagha eki ithela na to kano krik.*

To kano a mu arese i proti... alla afu iha sikosi to kokoraki piso na kano ke to allo leo...

Ti dhefteri fora pao na to travixo les na hi kamia sfera mesa leo skeftika tin proti fora dhen to iha sinidhitopiisi ... ti dhefteri fora pu les molis to travao bam petaghet...

... **So I go to make it go click** to take it off the wall. It was hanging on the wall and as it was there I wasn't big enough to reach it and take it off but it was slanted and I could just reach the butt. **I pull at it pull the cock back** alright I had it ready. I wasn't doing the washing up I was looking over there I wanted to make it go click.

I make it click aah that was nice... but since I'd pulled the cock back I say what does this other thing do...

The second time I'm about to pull the trigger but I think what if there's a bullet in there I hadn't realised this the first time... **so the second time just as I pull the trigger** it goes baang...

Sofia I.

The strength of the distinction between binding and unfolding, which is the main reason why it is adopted here, lies in that it brings together and at the same time teases apart the local and global aspects of narrative organisation shedding new light on the understanding of their interrelation or, in other words, of the part-whole formation. This is succeeded by the concepts' integration of the intersentential connectivity with the hierarchical structuring of story units in the process of narrative construction. In the framework of this amalgamation of local and global narrative organisation, the two acts are treated as

integrative processes with no inherent primacy between them: it is not required that the narrators know what their sentences refer to before they can be applied to form thematic wholes, and conversely it is not required that narrators know the thematic whole before linguistic units in the form of sentences or clauses can be instantiated or executed

Bamberg & Marchman 1991: 278

In other words, the binding and unfolding bi-partition is a convention for representing the bottom-up and top-down processes of narrative construction as simultaneous: *"the narrative whole emerges from its parts, yet at the same time, the parts unfold and become meaningful in light of the thematic, narrative whole"* (idem: 300). The co-operation of binding and unfolding essentially lies in the dynamics of establishing local ties and at the same time of constructing the story's global structure or hierarchical order.

In the present discussion, all three acts of the scheme of global narrative construction put forward are treated as distinct yet mutually related. However, binding and unfolding are recognised as forming a more closely knit relation with each other than with evaluation which operates as a *tertium comparationis*. Specifically, as already suggested, they denote simultaneous acts which cover the story's organisation, framing and signposting in terms of local and global ties. This means that unfolding is inclusive of binding: for a device to exhibit a *global segmentation* (macroorganisational) function, it has necessarily to work at the level of establishing local ties as well. Thus, while not all binding-level devices present an unfolding function as well, all unfolding devices operate as binding devices too. In view of this relation, evaluation is perceived as a distinct act added onto the bi-partition of binding/unfolding or onto the construction of narrative organisation in order to cover the expressivity component of narration. In other words, the contribution of evaluation to the story's global discourse coherence is done by means of encoding more or less overtly the narrator's attitudes, values, emotions and reactions towards the material narrated. At the same time, though not mutually exclusive with binding and unfolding, the function of evaluation does not require or presuppose a binding/unfolding

functioning of the forms onto which it operates. From the above it follows that the level at which the three acts are brought together is that of global narrative construction: this level is taken here to coincide with the establishment of a *perspective (point of view)* from which the events narrated are presented. The process of perspective-taking is treated as superordinate to the three acts in the present discussion; in particular, it embraces the narratorial stance or positioning with respect to the "taleworld" as reflected in formal linguistic choices of binding, unfolding and evaluating. Thus, the integration of the three components mainly lies in their contribution to the "*configuration*" (Ricoeur 1984: 155-61 quoted in Fleischman 1990: 95) or "*perspectivisation*" (Fleischman 1990: 96) of the experience which refers to "*signalling the consequentiality and meaningfulness of events*" (Bamberg & Damrad 1991: 690). To be complete, the scheme obviously needs to allow for a propositional (ideational) level which is concerned with the propositional meaning of each form and each utterance, but this is an aspect which is not investigated here. The interest of this work is directed to the "*emergent grammar*" (Hopper 1988: 118) of the formal choices within narrative discourse which is being negotiated and constructed as an integral part of the overall narrative production and the strategies that underlie it.

1.6.1 Constituency and Binding/Unfolding

Binding, unfolding and evaluating form a set of interlocking systems within the framework of narrative construction. However, their interdependence does not contradict the process of "*isolating constraints [from the three acts] and teasing apart the ways [in which they] differently influence the production of discourse*" (Schiffrin 1985: 282). In the present study, this process will rely both on qualitative and quantitative analysis and will presuppose the operationalisation of the three levels. This will mainly be data-driven: the fine-grained analysis and typology of particular binding, unfolding and evaluative devices will be attempted in the light of the situation in the data as shaped by language exigencies and cultural constraints. Thus, what remains to be done in this section is to clarify any remaining conceptualisation issues and roughly suggest the general lines along which the identification of binding, unfolding and evaluating will be pursued in the data. As already argued, binding and

unfolding represent an integration of the horizontal and vertical axes; this suggests that they can be captured best by means of looking into formal devices both as local ties, ie as devices for "hooking up" successive clauses to each other, and as global ties in rank schemes. In view of the relevant literature, the former procedure requires classic cohesion approaches based mainly on frequency measures while the latter calls for a constituency analysis. Constituency analysis, that is, the process of choosing and operationalising partitioning constructs, is the standard tool for investigating a text's hierarchical structuring and its part-whole relations. Thus, the stories' segmentation into hierarchical units of analysis was judged to be an indispensable procedure for the study of binding/ unfolding devices. The analytical units and their application to the data will be discussed in detail in ch 2. Here, it suffices to mention that working with constituency constructs allows us to explore the building blocks of a story's unfolding, by following the lines of continuity and shifting of its most important macro-organisational coordinates, namely of the participant and spatiotemporal relations. These are mainly captured at units' boundaries which constitute the *locus classicus* of a story's "chunking" decisions. Thus, their investigation sheds light on the text's macrosegmentation, that is, on how the requirements of the global organisation are handled. The constituency analysis will be complemented in this thesis by an analysis of narrative structure categories which will roughly follow the Labovian model (see ch 2). This was judged as a vital step towards unlocking the stories' plot development and gaining new insights into the coherence role of their unfolding and evaluative devices. On the whole, the mapping of the constructs of the two analytical procedures onto each other proved to be illuminating of the three acts of narrative construction examined here.

1.6.2 Evaluation, Tellability and Contextualisation

As suggested above, the formulation of a fine-grained analysis and typology of evaluative devices emerging from the data will be attempted later on in this thesis. This section will go through certain "revisions" of the Labovian evaluation adopted from the literature to serve the purposes of the study of evaluation in the data. One such line of research already discussed concerns the recognition of the device's role

in the story's coherence (§1.5.2.3). The second line of research promotes its "contextualisation". As already suggested, contextual studies of storytelling and of evaluation have been interrelated in the literature and as a result they have informed each other. To be specific, exploring evaluation as a culture-specific and context-bound function of storytelling has brought to the fore the need to disassociate it from the Labovian feature of unexpectedness. According to Labov evaluative devices

*say to us that this was terrifying, dangerous, weird, wild, crazy, or
amusing, hilarious, wonderful, more generally that it was strange,
uncommon or unusual, that is, worth reporting*

1972: 371

This statement postulates unexpectedness as the main criterion for an event to be tellable. The view has been challenged by proponents of the contextualisation of storytelling. Following Sacks's (1972, 1974) ideas about intraconversational narratives, Young (1987) claimed that what people frequently report in storytelling is the ordinariness of what happened. In a similar vein, Robinson (1981: 62) contended that it is the contextual elements which determine whether the criterion of evaluation is the unexpectedness or the ordinariness of the events in a specific communicative context as well as what is defined as unexpected and ordinary in this context. He also pointed out that on certain occasions the addresser-addressee relation is such that what is ordinary for the narrator is unexpected for the listener and vice versa. Revolving evaluation around unexpectedness proved to be completely counter-intuitive in the data which form the basis of this thesis, in particular since almost half of them are addressed to children; thus, they illustrate Robinson's claim about the relativity of unexpectedness and its potential discrepancy between addresser and addressee.

Another revision necessitated by the contextualisation of evaluation concerns the postulate of a distinction between the point of telling a story and the point of the actual story, which was confounded in Labov's evaluation. As Karen-Watson (1973: 255) suggested, the notion involves a mixed group of functions ranging from social and pragmatic to syntactic functions. According to Shuman (1986: 73), this results

from its failure to distinguish between the intrinsically interesting content as structured by the story and the importance attributed to the telling of a story in particular circumstances. In Shuman's terms, the former constitutes the story's *storyability* and the latter its *tellability* (idem: 181). The distinction allows for an experience to be storyable in its remarkableness and yet not tellable in a particular context and the other way round. In other words, it puts forward the view that evaluation is a matter of the taleworld in the same way as it is of the storytelling situation, and that there is an apparent need to separate the two (also see Young 1987: 54). As a result, it can be expected that the relation between the evaluation of the taleworld and the evaluation of the realm of conversation is such that the same point could be extracted from its evaluative nest and told on another occasion with a different point. Additionally, the evaluation of the taleworld can be quite distinct from the evaluation of the storyrealm in that the former evaluates events and the latter evaluates their telling (idem). This last distinction is implicitly recognised by Labov's concept of external evaluation which includes evaluations of the storyrealm by contrast to internal evaluation which solely applies to the taleworld.

To sum up, the above discussion put forth the need to cater for the following distinction: storyability (ie the intrinsic tellability or point of a story) vs tellability (the point of telling the story or its context-dependent worthiness). To put it differently, events are not only tellable in themselves but also tellable on occasions. The contention here is that this distinction needs to be complemented by another distinction between the actual evaluative devices of a story and the point of telling it relative to an occasion. The former is the textual aspect of evaluation and the latter its contextual. As the discussion in this thesis will gradually show, these are crucially interrelated: the point of telling a story in a particular context shapes its evaluative devices; even the communication of a lack of point (e.g. unknown point of storytelling) guides the choice or avoidance of evaluative devices. At the same time though, these two sides of the evaluation phenomenon, need to be teased apart. Thus, we are now left with the following tripartition: **storyability-tellability-evaluation**. Storyability as already suggested refers to the story's intrinsic point. Tellability is

treated here as a broad notion covering the point of telling the story as determined by the contextual elements of the storytelling event. Finally, evaluation refers to the specific textual devices by which the point of a story or the point of telling a story is enhanced. The relation of the three notions can present various degrees of complicity and their aims can very well differ: for instance, a storyable story may lack evaluative devices and/or not be tellable on a particular occasion; a tellable story may not be storyable and/or not evaluated. Finally, a storyable, tellable and/or evaluated story for the narrator may not be viewed as such from the recipient's point of view. The main focus of the study of evaluation in the data is the specific devices by which Greek narrators evaluate their stories, but this will be employed as a point of departure for exploring storyable and tellable themes of MG storytelling as well as parameters and determinants of tellability in the different cases of storytelling to adults and to children.

1.6.3 Binding, Unfolding and Evaluating: Contextual Analysis

As already discussed, the discourse-analytic methodology with respect to storytelling has been tremendously enriched by the ethnomethodologists' and conversational analysts' emphasis on the particular context of occurrence of each piece of discourse. Initially, this "*linguistics of particularity*" (Becker 1988: 17-35) was mainly applied to the study of evaluation. However, lately there has been a broadening of the scope of interest of the contextual analyses of stories which embraces their formal organisational choices as well; these are viewed as contextualisation cues (Gumperz 1982) and as interactional elements (Wolfson 1982). In particular, multi-level functional analyses heavily rely on the contention that narrative discourse-structuring choices are interlocked with the communicative context in which the storytelling event is situated; thus, they treat them as "*constituted frames negotiated in interaction*" and not as "*given frames which have to be filled in*" (Bamberg 1990: 281). This approach constitutes the framework within which binding, unfolding and evaluating and their collaboration in the perspectivisation of experience will be explored in this thesis. The assumption is that the three components are bound to be conditioned by contextual constraints and that the perspective imposed by them on the events narrated is not a

given and pre-determined constant but it shifts according to the context. In accordance with the integration of the top-down and bottom-up approaches that the tripartition entails, contextual influences are, cognitively speaking, shaped in the form of schemata that mediate experience. This is an encompassing view with a tremendous bearing onto the general conception of personal stories in relation to their non-linguistic substratum of events. In particular, it goes hand in hand with the *constructivist* view of personal stories as a reconstitution, revision and recreation of past events. By this view, experience is retrieved by a memory with an

enormously powerful schematising function that selects the stored material and organises them into meaningful patterns according to intentions and interests presently in play rather than as raw inputs

Bruner & Weisser 1991: 135

As a result, the issue of referentiality of personal stories, a puzzling issue especially for literary critics, is approached from a different angle. Specifically, instead of having to decide on the primacy between the real-world events or the structure of the real experience and their discursal shaping, their relation is viewed as one of mutual determination: influence runs in both directions, ie from stories to events and from events to stories.

To sum up, the view adopted here regarding the relation between experiences and their configuration into stories by binding, unfolding and evaluating is that it is anisomorphic, dialectical and susceptible to changes as a result of contextual influences. The perspectivisation of experience is not a given product but is guided by schemata which in turn interact with the specific parameters of the context of occurrence. As a corollary of this view, the long-standing controversy as to whether it is the events which produce and pre-determine their evaluation or evaluation which shapes the selection of events (see Culler 1981: 27-37) is resolved for the sake of recognising a "*duality of motivation and function*" (Toolan 1988: 159).

1.7 Interim Summary

The discussion so far provided the state of the art on the organisational and expressive (evaluative) components of storytelling which will be studied in this thesis with respect to MG storytelling. These were shown to have constituted the two main *foci* of interest in the influential paradigms of research (ie story grammars, Labovian model, discourse analytic research) on natural narrative. Their review led to the tri-level functional analytic scheme of binding-unfolding-evaluating as the vehicle for the investigation of the research questions in the data at hand. The full operationalisation of the scheme is ultimately dependent on the data; in the same vein, its choices, mechanisms and realisations are not postulated a priori but will also be data-driven. However, the whole conceptualisation of it derived from the framework of discourse-analytic studies of natural narrative and in particular from the multi-level functional analyses of it. Specifically, the two major premises adopted from this framework are a. the anisomorphism of form-function and b. the contextualisation thesis or approach to storytelling and to its formal choices. As regards evaluation in particular, its postulation heavily drew on the Labovian model but at the same time extracted and adopted revisions and ramifications of it from discourse-analytic studies of storytelling. These revisions pertained to its textual role and status as well as to its contextualisation.

The binding-unfolding-evaluating scheme crystallises the latest tendency to focus upon both the horizontal and the vertical axis of narrative organisation, or upon its local and global aspects, by teasing them apart as two separate levels of analysis and at the same time by treating them as two integrative processes. This tendency is interrelated with the integration of the bottom-up with the top-down approaches to narrative production. The projection of the horizontal axis to the vertical axis of narrative organisation reconciles the interest in the linear or sequential arrangement of narrative elements (bottom-up approach) with the interest in their mutual implications and the part-whole relations as determined by the story's global discourse theme (top-down approach). The top-down approach to narrative organisation is closely related to the notion of schemata. In the present discussion, schemata are treated as the

socioculturally constrained knowledge patterns of narrative construction which bear upon the processes of binding, unfolding and evaluating and account for the regularities of their mechanisms.

The postulation of binding-unfolding-evaluating as an analytic scheme for pursuing the initial general aim of identifying and interpreting the text-constitutive mechanisms of MG storytelling and their context-sensitivity implicates the formulation of the following objective for this study: to explore the binding/unfolding (organisational) and evaluative devices of the configuration of experience in MG narratives in relation to their immediate and wider context of occurrence. Looking into the relation between devices that shape narrative construction and all of their contextual parameters is a laborious, ambitious and possibly non-feasible task taking into account the inexhaustible list of the elements that form any context. As Herrnstein-Smith (1978: 94 quoted in Young 1987: 71) suggested, *"it is usually not necessary and of course usually not possible to ascertain all the conditions that make up the context of an utterance"*. Thus, as already suggested, the contextual variable focused upon in this study is that of the addressee as shaped by the distinction between storytelling to adults and storytelling to children. This choice inevitably guided the setting up and shaping of the study's research design. Therefore, prior to designing the data elicitation, the second framework that was looked into as part of this study's theoretical context involves research into adult-child storytelling interaction. The review of this area will be presented in §1.8 below which will finish off the stage-setting discussion.

1.8 Audience Adaptation, Storytelling and Children

The growing interest in the audience of narrative as one vital constituent of its communication context instantiates an era of intense preoccupation with the phenomenon of *"audience adaptation"* or *"recipient design"*, that is, of shaping the discourse on the basis of knowledge of or assumptions about the addressee, in discourse in general (e.g. Applebee 1983, Cooper & Matsushashi 1983, Crowhurst & Piché 1979, Hayes & Flower 1980, Nystrand 1986, Rubin 1982, 1984, Rubin & Piché

1979) and in the area of narratology (Brooke-Rose 1981, Eco 1979, Herrnstein-Smith 1981, Prince 1980, Rabinowitz 1977, Suleiman & Crosman 1980). In non-literary narratology in particular, the audience variable is emphasised to the extent that stories are nowadays treated as interactionally achieved discourse and joint sense-making activity in which teller and listener(s) have an equal share as true collaborators (Goodwin 1984, Mandelbaum 1987, Sacks 1972, 1974, Schegloff 1972, Stahl 1990, Young 1987). As a result, in addition to the classic instances of "audience adaptation" features that are the first ones to be investigated in any piece of discourse, such as the distribution of given-new information, or the degree of elaboration and explicitness as an indication of the degree of shared assumptions between addresser and addressee, various specific narratorial devices (e.g. tense shift, reference devices) are nowadays examined from an interactive point of view, that is, from the point of view of speaker-listeners relations (e.g. for a review of such approaches to the use of tenses in narration see Bamberg 1990: 253ff). The crucial relation of narrative production to the addressee variable has also been well documented in studies of narrative development where even very young children have been found to adapt their narration to their addressees (Menig-Peterson 1975, Shatz 1984, Shatz & Gelman 1973).

Interestingly, though part of the framework of the "recipient design" of storytelling delineated above, research on storytelling to children which is dealt with in this study, has focused on the pole of children-addressees rather than on the adult-narrators. Thus, its primary aim has been to explore narrative development and not to compare the adult-adult with the adult-child narratorial styles. As a result, the adult-child type of narrative communication that has been investigated is between parents or caretakers and infants or at least preschool children. At that age children were found to be bombarded by adults' references to past events (Eisenberg 1985, Engel 1986, Nelson 1986). Bruner (1990: 83) in particular reported that black children in Baltimore listen to 8.5 narratives on average per hour of recorded conversation (one narrative every seven minutes), three-quarters of which are told by their mothers. Studies of this type of adult-child storytelling interaction normally involve examining the ways in which caretakers or parents build stories either intraconversationally or by employing picture-

based books as "narrative props" (Heath 1982, Sachs 1979, Snow 1984). The primary motivation for the investigation is to closely monitor the children's response to such stories and their first attempts in text construction. The unanimous finding is that these attempts are heavily scaffolded by adults (e.g. Engel 1986, Fivush & Fromhoff 1988, Fivush et al 1991, Hausendorf & Quasthoff 1992a, 1992b, McCabe & Peterson 1991, Miller & Sperry 1988). In particular,

adults have been shown to facilitate children's narrative efforts by (among other things) inviting them to recount events and retell stories, supplying the topic, helping them gain and hold the floor, using questions to signal and provide the sort of information listeners require or expect, assisting with sequencing, encouraging elaboration, and modelling what constitutes "tellable" content and acceptable delivery style

Preece 1992: 277

Thus, children's initial narrative production is mostly in the form of a joint construction which ensures their further training in the rhetorical skills needed for story performance. Focus on the pole of children and not adults in the adult-child communication scheme is also evident in a recent small corpus of studies on family dinner-table storytelling (Blum-Kulka & Snow 1992: 187-217, Ochs & Taylor 1992: 301-40, Ochs et al 1992: 37-72, Taylor & Ochs 1992). These studies are somewhat closer to the present research at least on the basis of the children's age (mostly schoolage). However, they too lack interest in the adults' strategies of "recipient designing" their stories for children. Instead, they focus on children's narrative development as a predecessor of the development of scientific and other forms of literate discourse (Ochs et al 1992). Thus, adult storytelling on these occasions is investigated only from the point of view of modelling children's narrative skills, that is, of providing them with opportunities for storytelling initiation and co-narration. In addition to emphasising the pole of children both as recipients and as producers of narratives, studies such as the above deal with a different type of storytelling compared to the present study. Essentially, their data comprises accounts of the family members' experiences during the course of the day. Thus, their stories are of a much

narrower scope and functionality than the data at hand, and are embedded in the scheme of family roles rather than in people's broad socialising. This is accurately reflected in the form that they commonly take: most of them can be characterised as being simply reports of what happened. This means that if analysed in the light of Labov's model, they do not fall into the Labovian-type climactic narratives which are organised around peak points. Furthermore, an issue which makes such studies even less compatible with the present is methodological. In particular, the data elicitation of most studies of parent-child storytelling interaction as a rule involves the experimenters intruding into families that they are not acquainted with and tapping very personal familial moments such as family dinners or bedtime storytelling.

Additionally, the environments of storytelling elicitation present a high degree of culture-specificity. As Blum-Kulka & Snow appropriately suggested, "*the American middle-class dinner-table conversation is, of course, a product of rules and expectations that may be quite culture-specific*" (1992: 188). The ethnographic observation escorting the data at hand confirms this view, since the critical contexts of MG storytelling do not coincide with those of American storytelling, namely dinner-time and carpool.

A last type of adult-child narrative communication focused upon in the literature involves children's narratives at school and their scaffolding by teachers. Once again, the emphasis is clearly on children's narratives; the main enquiry concerns the ways in which the narrative production of children from different sociocultural backgrounds "*connects, mingles and conflicts with the narrative practices in school*" (Michaels 1981: 306) and what this relation implicates for the child's transition from orality to literacy (Michaels 1981, Heath 1982, 1983). Thus, to sum up, the studies reviewed above are not readily compatible with the present research whose interest is in the interface between narrative strategies (here examined in terms of binding, unfolding and evaluating) and the change of audience from adults to children.

1.8.1 Audience Adaptation and Children as Readers

The line of research which is closer to the purposes of this study, in terms of emphasising the particularities of text construction when addressing children, is only preoccupied with children as readers rather than listeners. Thus, the texts examined are either textbook material or literature for children. The former are as a rule investigated with the purpose of identifying their linguistic complexity, or as commonly termed, *readability*. Common procedures employed for this purpose are measures of the readers' performance abilities (e.g. scores on a cloze test, questionnaires) and quantitative analyses of various linguistic categories met in children's texts compared to adults' texts (for a discussion and review see Coupland 1983). These categories normally pertain to the sentence level and in particular to factors such as length of words and utterances, lexical repetition and syntactic structures. On the whole, readability studies are inappropriate for forming the background of the present research, not only because of the mode and type of texts they deal with, but also due to the following drawbacks:

- a. There is a great deal of controversy concerning the definitional criteria of the term linguistic "complexity" (see Coupland 1983, ch 2).
- b. Focus on the level of the sentence has resulted in the neglect of the discourse levels which makes these studies insufficient, incomplete and narrow in focus. Only recently has the thrust of discourse studies affected the nature of readability studies so that they have started incorporating discourse factors associated with communicative functions such as involvement (Biber 1991: 73-96).

Focus on sentential rather than discourse phenomena generally characterises studies of children's literature as well (e.g. see Anderson 1984 for her approach and a discussion of relevant approaches). Common assumptions of these studies are that children's literature involves a tendency for simplification which is primarily reflected in features such as avoidance of certain syntactic structures (e.g. subordination),

preference for shorter words and utterances, repetition etc. On the whole, this area of enquiry presents a great deal of variation stemming from the lack of homogeneity among the different authors' conceptions and practices when writing for children and from the general uncertainty and controversy as to whether there is an identifiable register of writing literature for children or not (Coupland 1983: 17ff).

The only macro-level feature which studies of readability and of children's literature have frequently pointed to is the "closedness" of the texts' stylistic composition. The terms *open-closed* texts originate in literary theory as "*scriptible*" (Barthes 1972, transl. as writerly by Brooke-Rose 1981) and "*lisible*" (readerly) correspondingly. Closed texts tend to harmonise their internal competing voices and are thus notoriously associated with cultural and ideological overcoding as well as with authoritarian modes of discourse (Luke 1982: 63ff). As a result, they imply a passive recipient. By contrast, open texts foster the readers' freedom from habitual interpretive processes (active recipient) and the reevaluation of their relationship to the cultural codes and values as is the case with the open texts (Hutcheon 1986: 161). In the case of children's literature particularly, the texts are alleged to base their monophony and prescriptivism on the reinforcement of generic stereotypes among which the most predominant is that of simplicity (Hunt 1988: 163-81). Thus, the criticism held against them has to do with the author's prescription of the readerhood and his assumption that children readers read below the capacity of adult readers; this often results in an oversimplified and patronising code that points to an authoritarian and dominating narrator (idem).

To sum up, the above review of research in adult-child narrative communication exhibited the lack of a solid background that can fit in well with the angle from which it is presently viewed. Specifically, there is a lack of a line of research which has postulated narratorial devices, elements and aspects of narrative construction that are likely and unlikely to occur in (oral) stories for children in comparison to stories for adults. At the same time though, the different threads of research drawn in the review form a background context that will frequently in this thesis offer valuable insights



into specific issues emerging from its data analysis. For instance, the findings of research in family dinner-time storytelling will be shown to be immediately relevant to aspects of the contextualisation of the data at hand (see ch 2). Additionally, the "closedness" and the modes of narratorial control reported about literary texts for children will prove to be compatible with textual choices of the SC (see ch 7).

Chapter 2

Data Collection and Methodology

2.0 Introduction

The literature review in the previous chapter guided the passage from the general aims of this thesis to the formulation of its specific objectives. The next natural step taken by this chapter involves the discussion of the data in which these objectives will be pursued. The first aim of the chapter is thus to deal with and analyse the different phases of data elicitation along with the decisions and considerations that accompanied and shaped them. The second aim is to discuss the preliminary analyses applied to the data after their collection. These involved the stories' coding for recurrent situational factors and features other than the ones which had been decided or reflected upon prior to the data elicitation on the basis of the study's research questions. They were chosen as indispensable preparatory steps that would ensure the formation of a complete picture of the storytelling events from which the data emerged, before moving to the textual analysis. The next step in the data involved deciding on and applying the segmentation procedures which would lead to the recovery of the stories' binding, unfolding and evaluative devices. These analytic methods will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

2.1 Setting up the Data Collection

The major decisions with respect to the stages of the data elicitation involved the features of the contexts in which this elicitation would take place. In Hymes's (1972) scheme of the context components of speech events the core feature to be specified was the addressor-addressee or producer-recipient roles of the speech event. This was surrounded by the topic, the code (language, dialect) the message-form (e.g. sonnet, fairy tale), the channel (e.g. speech, writing etc), the setting (situation in time and place), the physical relation of the interactants with respect to posture and gesture and facial expression, and finally the "event", that is, the nature of the communicative event within which a genre may be embedded. Of the above checklist of ethnographic

features, the code, the message-form and the channel were clearly determined *a priori* in the present research: the data was going to be MG oral personal storytelling. The rest needed to be manipulated as part of the research design.

To begin with the addresser-addressee relations, specific decisions were made regarding the participant features and roles. In particular, on the basis of these decisions all storytellers were native speakers of standard Modern Greek with no distinctive regional or dialectic characteristics. They were either Athenians or residents of towns within commuting distance of Athens who have spent a fair amount of their lives in Athens studying or working. Therefore, they can be characterised as representatives of the mainstream Greek culture. Additionally, the adult narrators shared roughly the same social and educational background: they were middle-class speakers who possessed a university or college (vocational training) degree. Possession of a college rather than a university degree is most commonly the case in our second age-group comprising middle-aged people. Taking into account changes in the educational system and standards of living since the last generation it can be argued that a college degree in that age-group is roughly equivalent to a today's university degree. In terms of the narrators' gender, the sample has almost equal representation from each sex. As regards age, the narrators belonged to two age-groups: the "young" age-group which covers the span from 20-30 years old and the "middle-aged" group ranging from 40-50. The proportion of male to female subjects in each of these groups was half-half. A last remark about the subjects' features is that none of them was familiar with concepts of Linguistics in general and of Discourse Analysis in particular and, as a corollary, none of them was conscious of the nature and rationale of the data elicitation.

Children recipients of the adults' stories were at the time of the data collection eight years old or so. They too came from middle-class families and they were not students of the few existing upper-class public schools of Athens. They roughly presented the same achievements, namely they were on the whole good students with no notable learning problems. Their relation to the adult narrators was decided on the basis of the

same criteria applied to the relation of the participants of storytelling among adults. In particular, provision was made for the existence of a relation of intimacy between the subjects and whoever happened to be the addressee(s) of the story including first and foremost the researcher. Intimacy covers both friends and relatives. Thus, in the case of children as audience, a relation of parent-child with the narrator was not precluded. At the same time though, storytelling transactions between adults and children were not restricted to the familial storytelling scheme of parent-child. The above decisions regarding the intimacy relations among participants resulted from the following considerations and observations:

- a. Storytelling is by definition mainly fostered and thus captured best in friendly and relaxed environments among intimates.
- b. The lack of intimacy between the "experimenter" and the subjects in data elicitation turns the situation into an intimidating interview which diminishes the spontaneity of the storytelling event (Wolfson 1982: 39). In such cases, the *"subject is frequently quite mystified about why a total stranger, armed with a tape recorder, should want to engage him in conversation"* (idem). Thus, the relation of intimacy made the context of the stories' elicitation as friendly and relaxed as possible.
- c. As already discussed, ethnographic observation suggested that storytelling both between adults and between adults and children constitutes a most prominent activity in contexts of socialising with intimates. On the whole, "get-together" activities with friends and relatives were judged to be the most critical environments for both cases of storytelling examined here. This is to an extent traceable to the Greek lifestyle and mentality. As Mackridge (1985: 338) suggested, few Greeks spend time on their own; they rather spend more time with friends and relatives. Similarly, Vassiliou et al (1972: 96) claimed that

the Greeks are likely to see their close friends every day and discuss many personal issues with them.

The decisions discussed above regarding the constituents of the contexts of data elicitation provided the general guidelines for shaping the research design. However, more specific "manipulations" of communicative components emerged as necessary for the purposes of this study. Specifically, a pilot study was judged to be necessary as a rich testing ground for the research questions which would eliminate the risk of confounding variables as much as possible. The two variables controlled in this study were the topic and the performer. In particular, the data elicitation entailed the same subject telling the same personal story twice, once to adult addressee(s) and once to child addressee(s). Controlling for these variables was chosen as a means of ensuring that any differences between the two versions of the same story are crucially shaped by the contextual factor in question, namely the audience, as well as by the "schemata" of narrative construction attached to it. As Polanyi (1981b) suggested, the telling of the same story is inevitably *"tuned to the circumstances in which it is told, delicately reflecting ... the relations of the participants... or to use Sacks' (1970) term is recipient designed"* (319).

The conduct of the pilot study also served practical considerations. Completely non-prompted situations of the same narrator telling the same personal story to two different audiences do occur in the real-world and are not strange and unnatural; however, it was both impractical and extremely time-consuming to actually wait for them to happen, that is, to abstain from any context manipulation which would create them, for the sake of an increased spontaneity in the data. Having said this, the delicate trade-off between context manipulation and data spontaneity motivated the complementation of the more "controlled" initial corpus, which from now on will be referred to as the *"basic corpus"* due to its chronological priority over the rest of the corpora, by a corpus of stories that occurred absolutely naturally and spontaneously as part of ongoing conversations among intimates. These corpora will be discussed in detail below.

2.1.1 First Phase: The "Basic Corpus"

The basic corpus comprises 40 oral personal stories half of which (20) are addressed to adults (BSA) and the other half to children (BSC). Thus, the total number of subjects who delivered the 40 stories is 20. As already suggested, the delivery of these stories was prompted. Each subject was explicitly asked to relate a personal story about a "past trouble" (the word used for trouble in Greek is "*fasaria*"); this was in some cases elaborated by the phrase "something which has happened to you and comes to your mind now". The instruction is fairly general but at the same time it provides the narrator with a motivation and basis for triggering the memory of a past event. First of all, it specifies that the story to be related should be a personal story and not a vicarious experience; it also narrows down the topic of the personal story. The choice of the narration of trouble was motivated by the following considerations and factors:

- a. "Troubles-talk" is a favourite mode of communication in Greece and a very common motivation for storytelling. Its popularity accurately confirms stereotypes about Greeks, according to which being as talkative and effusive as they are, they enjoy indulging in communicating personal problems (see Vassiliou et al: 1972), sometimes inappropriately extending this tendency to people who are not familiar with the culture of sharing very personal issues at early stages of an acquaintance.
- b. Troubles-talk also mirrors the society's preference for "*negative politeness*" strategies (Brown & Levinson 1987), that is, for strategies which claim common ground and solidarity with the addressee at the expense of his freedom of action (see Sifianou 1992a). While the speaker feels free to relate minor or major personal problems, the hearer is expected to enjoy "sacrificing" his territory for the sake of creating solidarity with the interlocutor.

- c. Because of its frequency and overuse, troubles-storytelling can virtually embrace a wide range of topics and does not by any means restrict itself to the narration of a sad/tragic incident or more generally of a sensational content incident (e.g. burglary, accident, illness, death etc). The stereotypical phrase "*pu na su leo se ti fasaria epesa*" (listen to this trouble of mine) as a common prefacing device of troubles-storytelling has ended up being almost non-informative as to the story's content. Its range can cover the narration of a sad event, a socially embarrassing or even a humorous event.
- d. By offering this somewhat general storytelling prompt to subjects, in addition to motivating the subjects through evoking their culturally familiar scenario of telling troubles-stories, the data elicitation design also gained an advantage over more specific prompts such as the prototypical Labovian (1972) prompt "have you ever been in danger of dying" or the quite opposite prompt of the kind "can you tell me a funny story". In the first case, the direction of the prompt is too restricted and also alien to people's everyday lives: a very small amount of everyday storytelling involves relating danger of death experiences while troubles talk is an integral part of everyday routine. The second instance of prompt implicitly poses the addressee the pressure to deliver a really entertaining story. Taking into account the high value placed by the culture on people who "can tell funny stories", it was felt that this increased pressure should be avoided.
- e. A final asset of eliciting a troubles story is that the recency of the experience is not specified or constrained by the prompt itself. The subject is free to choose between recent and non-recent experiences. By contrast, in the Labovian prompt the implicit assumption is that the subject has to search deep in memory to trace the event.

Having provided our subjects with the prompt, no more clarifications or explanations were offered. The story elicited was, depending on the context of interaction, related either to the researcher alone or to other present addressee(s) as well. Thus, if other addressees were present, they were not excluded from the storytelling event since the data elicitation did not belong to a standard interview scheme, but it was embedded in a context of socialising with the storytellers with whom there was a relation of intimacy. After the delivery, the subject was asked to narrate the same story to an eight-year-old (third-class student) female child, named Katerina. Katerina was intentionally brought along to the various social visits to the subjects' houses or to any other contexts of socialisation which served as the setting for the stories' elicitation. Since all the subjects were intimate with each other and with the researcher, it was felt that the same constraint should apply to the child-addressee as well. This is the reason why Katerina was chosen to be involved in this stage of elicitation process: she was the only child who was intimate with all of the subjects; the subjects were mostly family friends of hers or sons and daughters of family friends and Katerina had had social interactions with them in the past. Her presence was therefore natural and part of a well-established routine. As was the case with "stories for adults" as well, if other children at about Katerinas's age happened to be around, they were also included as addressees.

Two versions of the elicitation procedure described above were employed as alternative modes. The first was explicitly asking for the storytelling only once rather than twice. This happened in cases in which a troubles-story occurred naturally in the context of data elicitation; subsequently, the subject was asked to relate the same story to the second audience. The second version of the scheme was the reversal of order in terms of the intended addressee: in other words, in half of the cases the subject was first asked to relate a troubles-story to the child-addressee and then to the adult-addressee. This was a measure for eliminating any side-effects that the order of the retelling might entail. Bibliographical evidence in this respect is unclear and contradictory. Chafe (1977) suggested that the second telling of a story is more condensed while Bauman (1986), Ferrara (1988) and Hymes (1985) reported that it

is more elaborated. These studies are not very illuminating for the present discussion mainly because they examine the retelling of the same story to the same and not to a different audience. In the data at hand, stories for children tended to be shorter than stories for adults, but this was unaffected by the order of telling, since it was also the case in the corpus of spontaneous data which did not entail any story retellings (see §2.1.2 below). Thus, the choice is ultimately audience-associated: it seems that the adult narrators' schema of storytelling to children dictates the avoidance of long stories presumably due to assumptions about the addressees' processing abilities.

2.1.2 Second Phase: The "Free Corpus"

The second phase of data elicitation no longer aimed at the subjects' "repeated measures" (same subject delivering the same story twice) and there was no control for the topic of the personal stories collected (any personal story was eligible): hence the term "*free corpus*" was coined for the particular corpus. The collection of the free corpus was vital for capturing the everyday natural storytelling and the gamut of its functions. The question of the effect of both the immediate and the wider context on the stories' binding, unfolding and evaluating could not be satisfactorily answered by looking only into prompted storytelling, since it is inevitably impoverished in terms of functions and purposes compared to spontaneous storytelling.

Twenty-five hours of interaction in various settings among intimates were recorded and of these a corpus of one hundred and seventy (170) personal stories was extracted. Sixty of these stories were addressed to children (FSC) and the rest to adults (FSA). Details about the stories' initiation and participation framework with respect to the narrators' gender and the audience variable will be discussed in §2.3.1 and §2.3.2. Here, it suffices to add that of the corpus of 170 stories sixty (60) stories, thirty (30) for adults and thirty (30) for children, were extracted for closer investigation which involved quantitative analyses. Due to practical limitations, the rest of the stories were only subjected to qualitative analysis.

Personal stories were on the whole the most popular narrative genre in the interactions from which the free corpus was extracted. Next in popularity was the genre of jokes (in narrative form) followed by vicarious experience stories. Interestingly, no tall tales, legends or fables occurred, not even in the interactions between adults and children. This reflected the increasing predilection for "true" stories in MG contexts which has completely outweighed the telling of traditional fictional stories that used to be very popular. Generally, the experience from the whole process of eliciting this spontaneous data matched the initial observations discussed in the Introduction (§1.0), according to which storytelling is abundant in all conversations in Greece. There are no instances of conversation in the data without storytelling embedded in it; furthermore there are numerous conversational encounters among intimates which boil down to storytelling rounds. As a result of the frequency of storytelling in conversational settings, story-prefacing devices are as a rule absent. Conversational realm and storytelling mode are so close to each other that the boundaries between them are blurred. Most of the times, a spatiotemporally locating phrase is an adequate signal for setting up the storyworld amidst a conversation. Explicit metanarrative signals such as "listen to this story" or "let me tell you a story" which frequently mark the transition to a story in English conversational settings prove to be redundant in most cases. By contrast, jokes are explicitly prefaced, which proves that they are perceived as a distinct mode of communication.

While storytelling characterises almost every interaction among intimates, to ensure efficient elicitation of the data the critical environments for personal storytelling needed to be pursued. Through ethnographic observation and prior experience, it was decided that the ideal context for the elicitation of stories from the young age-group was "get-together" activities in houses or outside the house in street-cafes (normally these coffee places are met in "squares"). Interactions in these environments proved to revolve around storytelling and in some cases they essentially functioned as an excuse for storytelling sessions and rounds. The number of participants in them varied from three to seven people. In groups bigger than that people usually cannot sustain narrative transactions except in dyads, since there is a partying atmosphere and the

convention is that the coffee-place or the house serves as the starting point for going to discos or pubs. As regards interactions among middle-aged people, the ideal environment for storytelling events proved to be dinner-parties or "get-together" activities in houses and taverna nights. The usual occasion for the former is the celebration of name-days which can be characterised as the Greek equivalent of birthdays. Younger people are naturally not excluded from them. Sadly, Greek "*kafenias*" (traditional coffee places) could not have possibly served as candidates for data collection. Though a *locus classicus* of MG storytelling, they are exclusively male places, and remain inaccessible to outsiders. Thus, the data collection was restricted to the rest of the contexts.

As regards storytelling transactions between adults and children, they frequently occurred at dinner-parties, at least before the children got involved in their own activities. Festive dinner-parties over Christmas, Easter and other celebrations displayed more instances of storytelling whose primary addressees are children; it seems that on these occasions adults feel more compelled to include children in their social interactions and devote time to them. Otherwise, fruitful environments for storytelling to children were birthday parties and Saturday get-together activities with mothers and children. On these occasions, part of the agenda is that adults interact with children usually by means of storytelling before the latter socialise with each other.

The stories collected in settings like the ones described above, were only audiotaped and not videotaped due to practical limitations and also as a measure against intrusiveness. As regards the intrusion caused by the tape-recorder it is nowadays common knowledge in discourse analytic studies that it can never be completely ruled out; however, it can to a major extent be minimised. During the data collection, the machine was constantly running for a considerable period of time when in interactions with intimates, so it had receded from people's consciousness or it had been accepted as part of the communicative context. Cases of narrators' explicit or humorous references to the presence of the tape-recorder or to the act of recording suggested

both their awareness of it but also their effort to handle the situation naturally. The commonest instance of this were questions such as "*ghrafi afto tora*" ("is this recording now" referring to the recorder) or "*to anixes*" (have you turned it on). There were also two witty "metanarrative" instances of references to the incapability of the tape-recorder to capture the narrator's gestures while relating the story: e.g. "*afto tora dhe boris na to ghrapsis*" (I'm afraid that you can't record this one" told by Mihalís L. before imitating the way one of the story's characters walked at the story's climactic part). In some cases, the narrators were so used to the idea of being recorded that they ended up prefacing their stories by explicitly asking to be recorded if the tape-recorder happened to be off: "*anixto tora pu tha po mia istoria*" ("now turn it on that I'm going to tell a story"). This confirms the overwhelming observation prior to and during the data elicitation that MG storytelling is an entertaining activity which people enjoy indulging in and finding themselves contexts to perform it. There were also cases in the data elicitation process in which the subjects were not told in advance that they were recorded; naturally they were told right afterwards and were asked permission to use the recording. The reply was positive in all these cases.

2.1.3 Supplementary Corpora

The final stage of data elicitation involved collecting corpora of written stories and of children's narratives. These corpora are not by any means intended to be part of the main data of this research; instead their role is to supplement the basic and free data as part of the attempt to form a more global view of narrative production in MG. Looking at stories to children as a major means of catering for the child's socialisation outside school inevitably brings to the fore the question of the relation that this storytelling bears to the one prompted in school settings. This issue is also a constant preoccupation of the relevant literature which examines the ways in which storytelling at home mingles with, prepares for or on the whole relates to school literacy (e.g. Heath 1982, 1983, Michaels 1981). Thus, in order to construct a complete picture of the MG extracurricular model of narration to children we needed to know to what extent it matches the school-based model of narration and subsequently where the two stand with respect to the everyday narrative construction among adults. It was judged

that the way to go about answering this vital question was through the collection of the supplementary corpora. These are additional tools for gaining more insights into the twofold research purpose of this work, namely the investigation of the process of MG narrative construction (ie binding, unfolding, evaluating mechanisms) and of its recipient design in the case of storytelling to children.

The first supplementary corpus to be collected as a means of detecting the school-based model of narration was the written corpus; this formed a repeated measure of the oral basic corpus. Thus, its elicitation involved asking the same subjects who had performed the oral stories of the basic corpus to write their oral story twice, that is, for the two audiences: the subjects were asked to keep in mind that the readership of the first version would be adults (ie written stories to adults or WSA) and of the second version eight-year-old children (written stories to children or WSC). Provision was made again for shifting the order of writing the two versions in half of the subjects. The time allowed for the writing was forty-five minutes. The subjects were asked to write the stories one week after they had orally delivered them. The reason for this time-gap between the oral and the written delivery was completely unrelated to considerations of memory and recall since these processes are not investigated here. It was mainly chosen as a measure against the possibility of the narrators' lack of motivation for repeating the task. Though extensively employed in the literature on the differences between oral and written narration (e.g. Chafe 1982, 1984, Farag 1986, Hildyard & Hidi 1985, Polanyi 1982a, Tannen 1982) the task of writing rather than telling non-literary stories is admittedly strange. As a corollary, it caused certain reservations on the part of the subjects, but none of them dropped out from this phase. It was because of the nature of the task that it was hypothesised that in order to cope with it the subjects would trigger the familiar schema of creative school-based writing especially since the writing of personal stories forms a major part of the primary school creative writing. Writing the same story for two different audiences was thus chosen as a means of testing a twofold question: what the binding, unfolding and evaluating constraints and conventions are in the literate model of MG narration and what their relation is to the oral data.

The basic written corpus was supplemented by another written corpus of 80 narratives (40 for adults, 40 for children) by the same subjects. These stories had not been delivered orally. The subjects wrote them as an assignment for one of the seminars open to professionals and graduates of universities who wish to update their knowledge (abbreviated in Greek as "NELE"). One particular course under the title of "Thought and expression" involved lectures on the theory of writing. Right at the initial stage of this course the subjects were given the same instructions as our 20 subjects, that is, they were asked by their tutors to write the same story twice for the two intended audiences in question. Since the tutors kindly offered to undertake this task, there was no direct interaction between the subjects and the author so the subjects were unaware of the purpose of writing this assignment.

The rest of the supplementary corpora were collected in primary school settings. Two kinds of data were elicited there:

- a. Data from the "narration hour" which is the Greek equivalent of the American "show and tell" (Michaels 1981) sessions and involves the children's telling of personal stories closely monitored by the teacher.
- b. Stories from the children outside the classroom and in the teacher's absence elicited by means of Peterson & McCabe's (1983) method according to which children are prompted to tell personal stories while being involved in arts projects. This method has been alleged to minimise intrusiveness. In our case most of the storytelling prompts employed by Peterson & McCabe such as "have you been to a doctor" or "have you been on a trip" were replaced by prompts about more culturally salient events such as "have you been to an island in summer". As with the basic corpus too, the most prominent and common storytelling prompt was asking for the narration of "troubles". This was also responded to more readily by children.

For the elicitation of this corpus two primary schools were selected as typical representatives of mainstream primary schools for middle-class children. Their selection was also motivated by the teachers' willingness to go out of their way and help the data collection. The classes observed during one of their narration hours were the second, third and fourth of both schools. The recorded narratives outside the classroom were collected from eight students of each of the classes. Each of the students delivered two to four personal stories.

Thus, to sum up, the data comprises the following main corpora: oral basic corpus and free corpus. Oral personal storytelling constitutes the core data of this research. Of the two oral corpora, while both were qualitatively analysed, only the former and one third of the latter were subjected to quantitative analyses¹, due to practical limitations. The most important supplementary corpus for forming a more accurate picture of narrative construction in MG is the written corpus and in particular the written basic corpus (quantitatively analysed). Subsequently, the corpus of children's narratives (only qualitatively analysed) will only be employed for lending additional support to and checking the validity of certain claims made in this thesis; thus, it will be referred to rarely. The criterial features of each corpus are summed up in Figure 1 at the end of this chapter.

2.2 Common Methodological Problems and the Present Research Design

If seen in the light of the state of the art in storytelling elicitation and in particular personal storytelling elicitation, the data elicitation described above can be argued to have successfully dealt with some of the problematic issues which researchers are commonly faced with. While there is a genuine plea for authentic data in the area, the fact that this is an everlasting burning issue is an indication of the problems and difficulties surrounding it. In reality, a huge amount of research is based on more or

¹ Binding-level analyses were applied only to the basic corpus; unfolding analyses were performed for both the basic and the free corpus.

less "controlled" rather than spontaneous data: film-based and picture-based storytelling are classic instances of this kind of research (e.g. see Bamberg 1987, Chafe 1977, 1982, 1984, 1985, Clancy 1980, Hicks 1990, Tannen 1979, 1980). As for personal storytelling, the method of its explicit elicitation (ie directly asking for a delivery) has never been truly dispensed with despite the serious criticisms attached to it (e.g. for research based on prompted stories see van Ess Dykema 1984, Hausendoff & Quasthoff 1992a,b, Pratt & Robins 1991, Schiffrin 1981). The reasons for this are inevitably connected with the nature of personal narration. Though reputedly an area of interest and conflict as regards data collection and methodology, personal stories are particularly hard to elicit in a spontaneous way. Their accurate characterisation as the most involved and least distanced mode of narrative communication (see §1.3) points to their increased sensitivity to matters of intrusion. Furthermore, their frequency of use, their contexts of occurrence and as a corollary their ease or difficulty in elicitation, are to a major extent culturally-bound. Despite what the case is in MG contexts, in certain societies it is difficult to get people to indulge in personal narration. On the whole, attempts at eliciting spontaneous personal stories are commonly faced with the following problems/weaknesses:

- a. In societies in which personal narration is highly valued and constitutes a vital part of everyday communication, the texts inevitably present a great amount of embedded folklore and function in many ways as "*cultural texts*" or "*displays of a cultural breakthrough into personal reality*" (Stahl 1989: 118); in other words, they mirror and perpetuate the world-view and values of their sociocultural context. This makes the full ethnographic study of the society which forms the wider context of storytelling an absolute requirement, with the result of rendering the texts more difficult to access by researchers outside this context. Furthermore, the process by which researchers can become fully integrated members of the society thus minimising any sense of intrusion is a time-consuming and weary task.

- b. Another common problem concerns the relation between the researcher and the storytellers. As Wolfson (1978: 235, 1982: 96ff) suggested, any differences in status between the researcher and the storytellers (ie lack of intimacy and equality) can reduce the data spontaneity and increase the observer's paradox. However, there is usually a trade-off between ensuring intimacy to avoid contaminating the real-world data and keeping the size of the sample at a respectable level. Thus, it is commonly the case that the elicitation of the stories is restricted to only a small number of intimates who have fully accepted the researcher's presence (e.g. Polanyi 1985, Stahl 1989, Young 1987). However, a small sample size does not allow for any generalisations. On the other hand, large samples normally present the drawback of losing out on intimacy (e.g. Wolfson 1982) thus resembling the large-scale sociolinguistic interviews whose format has been adequately criticised, as already suggested.
- c. A last drawback frequently accompanying studies of naturalistic data has to do with the degree of emphasis on the contextualisation of each storytelling event. Although the thorough analysis of the particular communicative context is very useful in discourse studies, it can often result in a failure to move from the particularities of the specific storytelling events to the description and interpretation of general tendencies and regularities characterising a larger sample of storytelling events.

The awareness of the above problems was a crucial determinant of the design of the present research which aimed at minimising them as much as possible. First of all, the data elicitation was driven and guided by prior knowledge, observation and experience of the ethnography of communication in MG contexts. Subsequently, the requirement of relaxed and friendly environments was ensured throughout the elicitation largely due to the great intimacy with every single one of the recorded storytellers. Thus, no

phase of the elicitation adopted the intimidating interview format. In other words, the difference between the basic and the free corpus cannot be automatically treated as a distinction between artificial and naturalistic data. Both corpora were collected in relaxed contexts, the difference being that the basic corpus comprises stories that were prompted by the researcher while the free corpus is the product of the narrator's intrinsic motivation to narrativise an experience. This pairing of the two corpora in the data is essentially an advantage of the present research: the two corpora nicely complement each other in that the basic corpus presents a rigorous and powerful basis for testing the research ideas through controlling for certain variables; the free corpus captures storytelling in its purest spontaneous form, i.e. as occurring in absolutely naturalistic settings. On the whole, the data elicitation procedures ensured the delicate balance, which as mentioned above is usually destroyed in the literature, between a wide range of data and emphasis on the particularity of the storytelling events as well as on the friendly, relaxed and naturalistic contexts of elicitation.

The wide range of data and their quantitative analysis cater for the generalisability of this study's findings. However, it has to be kept in mind that storytelling is in principle a variable phenomenon with innumerable manifestations in multifarious contexts. Thus, any generalisations from any particular corpus, however wide, need to be tentative. Related to this problem is the use of quantitative methods in discourse-analytic studies. As Schifffrin suggested (1985: 299), the inherent multifunctionality of any piece of discourse along with the difficulty of observing or computing a function without running the risk of obscuring the distinction between its cause and its effect, make the extension of quantitative analyses into discourse domains a particularly painful enterprise. However, this "necessary evil" of the area of discourse-analysis is hardly discouraging for the transfer into it of the powerful tool of quantitative analysis, as long as it is accompanied by the critical awareness of the area's inherent virtues as well as limitations. Thus, the complementation of qualitative analysis by quantitative analysis whenever needed in this research will be attempted on the understanding that storytelling, as all humanistic "realms", is inevitably more complex than what can be made of it through quantitative measures.

2.3 Situational Coding

The stories' recording was accompanied by the ethnomethodological model of "participant-observation", ie observation of each storytelling event and its contextual variables while being an integral part of it (Polanyi 1985: 11). At the end of each narrative transaction or series of transactions recorded at the same time, any observations regarding their context of occurrence which would be impossible to trace later through the transcription of the recorded data were taken down in the form of written notes. These, along with the data transcription, completed the picture of the performance features of the storytelling events which comprises the "situational" or "contextual" coding of the data. It goes without saying that the data coded in this respect was the free corpus and not the basic corpus since variables such as "who tells a story to whom" had been controlled in it. A clarification which needs to be made prior to the discussion of any data analyses concerns the use of the terms audience and addressee(s) throughout this thesis. Studies in ethnography of communication have convincingly demonstrated that such terms should not be interpreted as unitary and homogeneous constructs (see Brenneis 1986: 337-47, Duranti 1986: 239-47, Goodwin 1986: 283-316). Thus, the speaker-hearer dyadic scheme is nowadays nothing but a useful convention. Specifically, it has been convincingly shown that each act of communication presents differentiated participant roles with considerable subtlety which are not covered by the dyad addresser-addressee. In particular, except for the fact that storytelling is normally addressed to more than one hearer, other distinctions come into play such as primary and secondary hearers, off-stage hearers, overhearers (Brenneis 1986) etc. Therefore, the characterisation "stories for children" is not by any means intended to suggest that addressee roles are so compartmentalised in the real world that adults are excluded as addressees in this case. Instead, the term is conveniently employed for cases of stories which primarily address children. The same applies to stories for adults as well. Thus, any use of terms pertaining to the stories' addressee is based on the understanding that these are analytical constructs which are projected as unitary concepts only for reasons of simplification in the discussion.

2.3.1 Storytelling Initiation and Recipientship

The first analytical dimensions of each act of telling to be isolated and investigated had to do with its "*initiation rights*" and "*recipientship*" (see Blum-Kulka & Snow 1992). In particular, the focus of examination was placed on who initiated the story and on who its primary addressees or recipients were. The results of this coding suggested a male "*entitlement*", to use Shuman's (1986) term in its wide sense, that regulated the performance rights of MG narratives. This means that men proved to be more in control of the game of storytelling initiation and delivery than women. Specifically, while mostly recorded in mixed-group interactions, more free stories were narrated by men than women. Of the 110 stories among adults, only 42 were related by women (38.2%); comparably, only 25 out of the 60 stories (41.7%) for children were narrated by women. Ochs & Taylor (1992) have treated a comparable finding about American family dinner-time storytelling as an instance of a mechanism of male power exerted over the narrating activity. In the data at hand, it is premature to assess the finding. The complete picture of gender-based differences emerging in the data will be gradually formed in this thesis (see §2.3.3 below and Ch 8).

The least amount of storytelling initiation in the data comes from children in adult-child narrative transactions: only 8 stories from children emerged as responses to the 60 stories told by adults during these transactions. This finding too is congruent with the participation structure in American family storytelling (*idem*). Additionally, children appeared to be the least preferred addressees of stories. Though stories for children are very common in MG contexts compared to the "western" storytelling settings (e.g. Blum-Kulka & Snow 1992, Heath 1982, 1983, Ochs & Taylor 1992, Taylor & Ochs 1992), adults are still the primary and ratified recipients of adult stories occurring in mixed groups of adults and children. Ochs & Taylor (1992: 331) reported a "*recipiency imbalance*" in their data, in that children were not explicitly ratified addressees of their parents' narratives in the same way that they were often obliged to explicitly address their parents. In the data at hand, the recipiency imbalance is of a different sort but still at the expense of children: the adult narrators' allocation of recipientship rights between them and adults favours the latter.

To sum up, the analysis of the data with respect to storytelling initiation, delivery and recipientship, brought to the fore a tacit arrangement by which men-participants rank highest in the category of initiation while children rank lowest in both initiation and recipientship.

2.3.2 Participation Structure

One of the major premises of recent research on storytelling, traceable to the tradition of ethnography of communication and of conversation analysis, is the idea that narrative is a collaborative (interactionally achieved) activity in which the audience functions as a *co-author or co-narrator* to use Duranti's term (1986) through their verbal and non-verbal communication. The thrust of this co-narration lies in cases in which the audience explicitly challenges the storytelling; these can be as powerful as to succeed in the *re-drafting* (Ochs et al 1992, re-scripting/re-casting) of narration. While this claim has often been implicitly projected as a universal norm by studies of middle-class American English narration (e.g. Polanyi 1979, 1981a,b, 1985, Schegloff 1972, Ochs et al 1992), there is growing cross-cultural evidence that the audience's degrees of interference or active participation in a story vary from culture to culture. Different cultures place different emphasis on joint storytelling; in certain cultures storytelling appears to be a norm-governed and ritual activity during which interruptions are normally absent. For instance, Johnstone's data (1990) on Middle America narratives exhibited an essentially monologic texture with the slight exception of brief supportive backchannelling.

Close inspection of the activity of storytelling during the data collection and transcription suggested that their participation structure is highly comparable to Johnstone's data. The amount of verbal interference on the part of the audience is minimal. Audience participation and interest in the narration is naturally signalled through a fair amount of non-verbal backchannelling which keeps the narrator going; however, explicit challenges to and re-draftings of the ongoing storytelling are missing; the audience unlike what Polanyi (1979, 1985) and Schegloff (1972) report about American English narratives, do not break into the story to re-structure its point

or suggest ways to adapt it. Verbal participation in the story is normally exhausted in a small set of fixed ways of signalling approval (e.g. *sopa*: you are kidding me, or *ela*: come on, *sovava*: seriously, *ti les*: what are you telling me). Thus, the modes of the audience's verbal participation in the data are essentially supportive of rather than challenging to the ongoing narrative. The "boldest" mode involves contributions which corroborate what is being narrated and suggest its uptake rather than interrupt the flow of the story: e.g.²

(2) ... *ke xanaerhomastan safto pu leghame peri adikimenikotitas na pume ke poso ta praghmata ine adikimenika ke ta lipa ke ta lipa ke ta lipa ki o Mersinis eleghe eggho pu pigha stin Olibiaki ke me perimenan xeris ki afta*

[[ne mono me tetia paradhigmata o Mersinis bori na milisi]]
ne kala ke mia kopella i opia ebene kata kerus sti sizitisi...

... and we came back to what we were saying about objectivity you know and how things are objective and so on and so on and so on and Mersinis was going and I went to the Olympic Airways and they were waiting for me and things like that

[[well yeah Mersinis can only talk using examples like that]]
true and a woman was occasionally going like...

Mihalis K., FSA

(3) ... *opote patheno to proto sok me ton Ektora xeris o Ektoros na vrizi akatasheta hidhea/ [kala e fadazome ton Ektora sok milame ghia sok] telios. ke na vrizi ton Ippokrati ke na tu lei ki o Ippokratis...*

... so I get my first shock from Hector you know hector swearing no end vulgar
[really I can imagine Hector shock we're talking about a real shock]
absolutely. and (he) swearing Hippokratis and Hippokratis going...

Dionysis G., FSA

As can be seen, the interruptions from the audience in the above examples are supportive of the narrator's point.

² Notice that the conventions [], [[]] and () in the examples suggest contribution from the audience, simultaneous speech and editorial comments respectively (see §2.4.2.1 for a full list). Bold type highlights forms under examination.

On the whole, the data analysis strongly suggested the existence of an almost ritualistic *autonomy of the teller* (Blum-Kulka & Snow 1992: 209) underlying the performance of MG stories: this involves the legitimacy granted to the teller's right to narrate his "tale" uninterrupted. Thus, the power-sharing arrangement of the interlocutors of American-English narratives (e.g. Polanyi 1985) which involves the right for co-narration is not valid in the data. Instead, it is abolished for the sake of an entitlement arrangement favouring the narrator. Additional evidence for this is provided by the narrators' defense of their entitlement in cases of clarification questions and other comparable interruptions by the audience: these are either ignored by a narrator who is determined to keep the narration going or answered very briefly so that the audience are quickly re-channelled to the narration sometimes through prompts such as "*aku tora*" (listen now), "*aku tora ti tha po*" (listen to what I'll say now"), "*katse na su po*" (listen I'll tell you) and "*pu les*" (filler signalling return to the storyline) etc: e.g.

(4)... *ke perni emena tilefono*
[[*su pe ghiati dhen pighena na ton dho*]]
ke perni emena tilefono pu les...

.... and he calls me
[[did he tell you why I wouldn't go to his place]]
and listen he calls me...

Fotini B., FSA

In the above example, "*pu les*" (listen) is accompanied by the recapitulation of "he calls me" to ensure return to the storyline after the interruption.

(5)... *trakaristikame lipon sto dhiadhromo ke mu lei erhese ghia kafe. Me ti Virginia edaxi dhe milusame mia fora tin iha dhi stin arhi ke leo se mia fili pu mastan mazi oti afti ine as pume atomo as pume plastiko itane apo mia ili plastiki*

[*e vevea dhe su he pi esena ghia to erghostasio tu baba tis me tis ekato erghatries*]

... so we bumped into each other in the corridor and she tells me do you want a coffee. And well I had never spoken to Virginia I had just seen her once at the beginning and I tell a friend who was with me that she is you know something like a plastic person (ie artificial/shallow) made of plastic know what I mean
[well of-course didn't she tell you about her dad's factory with the one hundred workers and stuff like that]

*katse na su po. Mu tin epese etsi ghia
ton kafe ke tis leo daxi as pume na
rtho*

now listen to what I'm saying. She came to me like that for coffee and stuff/ and I say o'kay let's go... (notice again the recapitulation following the signal for the addressee's attention)

Mihalis L., FSA

(6) ... *ke pighame stin ekklesia ki
anapsame ena keraki itan to panighiri
[pio horio ine afto]
i Nemitsa
[Nemitsa]
ne na dhis pos to lene alios a
Methidhrio
[[a to Methidhrio]]
itan o pateras tu eki stin ekklesia **pu les**
egho dhen tu milisa katholu...*

... and we went to the church and we lit a candle the fiesta was on [which village is this] Nemitsa [Nemitsa?] yeah well let me think of its other name got it Methidrio [[alright Methidrio]] (return to the storyline) his father was there in the church "**pu les**"/ I didn't speak to him at all...

Hristos H., FSA

On the basis of the above it can be argued that the shaping of audience participation in the data discloses a systematic avoidance of interruptions of the "magic" world of story-making. Frequently, the result of this constraint is an amazing amount of tolerance on the audience's part to very long or even boring stories. The cultural constraint of respecting the "teller's autonomy" is significantly more powerful in the case of stories addressed to children in which backchannelling is as a rule non-verbal. This nicely matches the power-sharing arrangement of initiation and recipientship already discussed in which children are again presented as having the least mode of control over the narrating activity. Additionally, cross-culturally this is a well-documented finding: as a rule children do not break into adults' storytelling (Stahl 1989: 45), except in cultures which promote co-narration (Blum-Kulka 1992: 187-217); even there though, their participation is minimal compared to that of the adults (idem, Ochs & Taylor 1992).

2.3.3 Coding for Topic Content

2.3.3.1 Storyable Themes: Storytelling and Family Bonds

As suggested in §1.6.2, a valid distinction in the realm of a story's expressivity is between storyability and tellability. The coding of the data for their plot content brought to the fore a salient thematic cycle which recurs independently of the context of telling a story and of its topic and function since it constitutes an instance of culturally-determined storyability. This is the association of stories with family contexts. Specifically, with very few exceptions stories of both oral and written corpora, independent of whether their content is sensational or humorous, draw on family experience and either a. present a family member as their protagonist (e.g. 16.7% of FSA) or b. involve family members as the story's characters except for the narrator (56.7% of FSA).

In the former case, the I-narrator places herself in a less favourable light for the sake of one of her close relatives and more generally for the sake of revolving personal experience around family-life experience. In the latter case the narrating-I is more salient than the surrounding character-relatives. However, the common denominator in both cases is that family life, ie its framework, situations, and delineating roles and experiences are projected as inscribing personal experience. This finding suggests that one of the core storyable thematic components of MG narration is the opposition "we" in the form of a family framework vs "others" or between insiders and outsiders, that is, between family and non-family members. Such intragroup familial relations as the opposing force to the outsiders of the group have been reported as a culturally salient distinction among Greeks (see Vassiliou et al 1972). At a more abstract level, as Bruner & Weissner (1991: 143) suggested, they instantiate an ancient theme with multiple historical instantiations which brings to the fore questions such as the balance between conformity and autonomy and allegiance and independence. Themes from the professional setting and its accompanying roles prove to lack storyability compared to the family setting and are thus systematically missing. In particular, even in the few narratives which involve characters from the narrator's professional world, there is an implicit or explicit portrayal of it as hostile, threatening and in opposition to the

narrator's closely-knit familial community; thus, in this case too, the stories' storyability is immediately connected with the theme of family experiences. On the whole, the minority of narratives in the data which neither evoke an aspect of family life nor involve its members as its main characters fall into two categories:

- a. There is a small number of men's narratives which involve a male friend as a protagonist or co-protagonist (6.6% of FSA). In these cases the friend is projected as part of the family and is characterised in terms of family roles: e.g. "he was like my brother". The fact that these narratives are related by men is a choice which mirrors the value of male friendship deeply rooted in the culture (cf the cultural convention of blood-brothers). By contrast, women's narratives show a striking adherence and loyalty to the family network of relations. Additionally, they rarely place the narrating-I in the most favourable light.
- b. The second category of narratives hold an implicit or explicit thematic distinction between the outside world and the family world: the former is portrayed as hostile and frame-breaking, that is, as a challenge and a threat to familial values (20% of FSA). Experiences from the outside world can take the form of conflicts in professional settings, of experiences of loneliness and fear or lastly, in young people's narratives, of experiences of guiltful autonomy and freedom.

In both cases above, the essence of the stories' storyability once again lies in evoking the familial theme. Interestingly, such stories are almost non-existent in the case of sensational narration, in particular death narration: it is as if the outside world were completely incapable of causing the feeling of loss because it cannot cause the bonding in the first place. Thus, the opposition we vs others is projected in even stronger terms and by means of the culturally favourable verbal ways of cursing death: e.g. "*exo (makria) apo mas*" (outside/away from us, ie our family), "*exo apo tin porta mas/to spiti mas*" (outside our door/house). Only four death narratives altogether

across the whole range of data involve the death of a young person outside the narrator's relatives; this is done for the sake of turning this death into a moral theme for SC, ie for prioritising the audience-shaped tellability over the culturally favourable storyable theme.

SC also differ from SA in the above issues in that they a. never present any frame-breaking experiences revolving around the dilemma conformity-autonomy and b. commonly involve the school-setting experiences in addition to the ones of the family-setting (e.g. 16.7% of the FSC). Interestingly, the two are not projected as opposed worlds. They are rather put forward as two major complementary spheres. On the basis of their occurrence only in SC, it can be argued that the school-related themes are choices crucially related to the contextual variable of audience, and are thus tellable rather than storyable themes.

2.3.3.2 Gender-Based Entitlement and Storyability: Conflict Stories and "Kodres" vs "Gaffes"

The coding of the data for their topic content brought to the fore an interesting gender-based difference which, though at first glance a difference in preference for storyable topics, will be gradually shown to be interconnected with the stories' tellability and functionality as well as with their binding/unfolding and evaluating choices. To be specific, typical men's stories were found to fall into two highly similar categories, namely "*conflict stories*" and "*kodres*" (extremely culture-specific term, can be translated as cock-fights, contests, duels). Both of the categories cover half of the men's stories in the data (e.g. 35 out of the 68 men's stories in the free corpus). Typically hero-centred stories conveying a macho-image reminiscent of popular literature action stories, they cast the most favourable light either onto the narrator or onto a male relative or friend. Salient plot elements recurring in such stories are contests over achievement in leisure activities mostly involving cars and bikes or sports and games. The following episode is a classic example of a "kodra" (for a discussion of the example see §7.1.4):

(7) ... *eki pu ithele na dhixi o Hristos ti dhiki tu pes de pu isuna esi me to Hristo ki eghe me to Birbili me tis dhio mihanes*

a ne lei vale ekti ke kala oti i mihani tu Hristu itane pio dhinati apo hamila re pedhi mu apo ligha hiliometra. Vale ekti vazo ekti eghe vazi ki o Hristos anighume to gazi ke kala ki o Hristos oti me to pu tha anixi to gazi tha exafanisti apo mena. Anighume ki i dhio to gazi gazono eghe gazoni ki o Hristos i mihani mu vuuuuu [gesture] o Hristos [gesture] na kitazi aristera dhexia sa hamenos. En to metaxi ki i tris mas enothikame enadion tu sekini ti fasi ghiati edaxi i dhikia mu mihani ine pio ghrighori sinolika ohi sto gazi as pume xeris apo hamiles strofes. Ki ehase ki eki tin patise ki eki ton dhulevame oli mazi eki pera ta pire telios

(a male friend asking for the story's delivery from the narrator)... say when Hristos wanted to show off with his (ie bike) say it when you were with Hristos and I was with Birbilis with the two bikes

ah yes. He (ie Hristos) says go into sixth I go into sixth Hristos goes into sixth too. We step on it/ you know Hristos he really thought that as soon as he'd step on it he'd disappear from me. We both step on it I step on it Hristos steps on it. My bike "vuuuuu" (onomatopoeia accompanied by gesture suggesting that it left very fast) Hristos (gesture suggesting that having been left behind, Hristos is completely confused) looking left right completely lost. And at this point all three of us ganged up on him cos my bike is faster on the whole but not at low revs. But he was beaten even there he made a fool of himself again we were all pulling his leg he was absolutely mad...

Panaghiotis G., FSA

Conflict stories and "kodres" are strikingly absent in the corpus of women's stories. The only instance of a conflict story by a female narrator involves a conflict with two of her male colleagues at work which is resolved by her husband's interference. This finding can be aligned with Makri-Tsilipakou's (1991: 58-87) claim that Greek women's modes of expressing disagreement are weak, mitigated and hedged, especially when addressing men who by contrast appear very confrontational. The typical category of women's stories can be characterised as stories of embarrassment (mostly social *gaffes*): acts which become the butt of criticism or ridicule, failure to successfully complete a task and incidents of deception or hoax (e.g. over the phone) are the commonest candidates for themes of embarrassment stories which account for almost half of women's narrative production (20 stories out of 42 in the free corpus).

Disguised in the form of humorous stories, the narration of embarrassing events conveys self-sarcasm by means of engaging deliveries:

(8) *Afiste ti epatha prohthes to vradhi pu nistevame. Efagha me ta pedhia kana dhio portokalia ghiati dhen ithela na fao ke poli ke kirios i Vivi more. Ghirizo meta ki afu evala ta pedhia ghia ipno ghirizo stin tileorasi ki ekini tin ora mepiase pina edeka i ora. Ti na paro leo na fao perno ligho psomaki ke tiraki ki etrogga eggho i hazi psomaki ke tiraki ke pai i nistia ute pira eggho idhisi oti iha nistia. Ki efagha kanonikotata mia kora psomi ke tiri tora xeris hthes to vradhi dheka i ora ki etrogga eki ke parakoluthusa ki akugha ta polemika pu leghane ekinos. Sikonete tuto apo to krevati ki erhete etsi vlepo tin Katerina dhipla mu a kano pnighika. Dhen prolaveno na isihaso apo tin Katerina beni o Thomas mesa mu lei afti ine i nistia pu kanis esi leo eggho ti efagha psomaki ke tiraki. Aaa ke tote thimithika ke na mu rixi ena dhulema o Thomas pu ithela na kano ke nistia.*

listen to what happened to me two days ago when we fasted. I ate a couple of oranges with the kids cause I didn't want to eat a lot mainly because of Vivi (her daughter who is chubby). Then I go to the I mean I put the kids to bed and then I go and watch the telly and at this point I started feeling peckish it was eleven o'clock (at night). What should I eat I say to myself I get a bit of bread and a bit of cheese and I silly me was having bread and cheese. The - and this was the end of my fast I completely forgot that I was fasting. And I ate unsuspectedly I had my bread and cheese this was at around ten o'clock at night and I was eating there and I was watching the news about the war (ie the war in Bosnia) that they were saying this guy rather. This one (pointing to her young daughter who is an overhearer) gets out of bed and comes in I just see Katerina right next to me I go aargh and choked myself. Before getting a chance to get over the shock from Katerina Thomas comes in he tells me is this the way you fast? I say why what did I have some bread and some cheese. Ooh now I remember. And Thomas "na" pulling my leg that I was playing it cool about fasting.

Maria B., FSA

The above story is a characteristic instance of women's stories delivered in front of mixed companies. In this case, the narrator's "silly me" kind of behaviour has to do with her unintentional violation of the religious and cultural constraint of fasting.

2.3.3.3 Stories for Children and the Tellable Childhood-Theme

The above gender-based differences are blunted in the case of SC because they are overridden by the childhood-theme which is equally encoded in men's and women's stories. As already suggested, storyability in the SC essentially evolves from the familial theme, as in the case of SA. Thus, its interconnection with the childhood-theme is a matter of tellability shaped by audience considerations. The striking propensity for the childhood-theme presents two manifestations: the experience narrated involves the narrator's childhood (70% in FSC, ie the narrator as a child) or the narrator's child (30% in FSC, ie the narrator as a parent). These two contexts combined with the two settings of family and school discussed in §2.3.3.1 encapsulate the salient plot elements in SC. At first glance, the choice of the childhood theme can be argued to be related to the facilitation of the addressee's empathy and identification with the "intradiegetic" (intratextual: Genette 1980) character. Coupland (1983: 40) for instance reported that the rule in children's literature as well is that the protagonist is a child. However, as with the other elements discussed so far, this thematic choice is more complex: it constitutes a major vehicle for certain narratorial modes and perspectival choices that structure the interactional plane of SC (see ch 7).

2.4 Segmentation Procedures as Analytic Methods

2.4.1 Narrative Partitioning Constructs: Background

As suggested in §1.6.1, the use of partitioning constructs in the data is an indispensable step towards uncovering the unfolding devices of the stories, that is, their structuring along the vertical axis of organisation and furthermore their part-whole interrelations. Narrative segmentation procedures in the literature fall into the following two categories: i. they are attempts for capturing a text's structural patterning and plot development (e.g. climax, resolution etc) as defined by models of narrative analysis (e.g. story-grammars, Labovian model) or ii. they are attempts for exploring a story's lines of topic/ thematic continuity and discontinuity. Though these two analytic procedures are as a rule presented as mutually exclusive, the contention here is that they constitute equally helpful and complementary methods of analysis for operationalising binding/unfolding and evaluating. Thus, both the approach which

postulates thematic segments and the approach which focuses on structural sophistication were brought to bear upon the stories' segmentation.

The commonest analytical constructs in the literature designed to capture segments that entail topic continuity, are those of *paragraph* and *episode*. The two notions have dominated the relevant literature and have been applied to both narrative and non-narrative texts primarily in written language and secondarily in spoken language. The terms have either been used interchangeably or they have been differentiated as regards their scope and coverage. For instance, Longacre (1979) treated the paragraph as a higher-level unit compared to an episode, whereas van Dijk (1982) argued that an episode is a semantic unit and a paragraph is its surface manifestation. Additionally, the two notions along with similar ones (e.g. scene, act, event-schema), have often been an object of controversy as to their status as "linguistic" or "psychological" units, ie as bottom-up units of discourse organisation after the sentence (e.g. Tomlin 1987: 456) or top-down units guiding text-comprehension (e.g. Schank & Abelson 1977: 266, Mandler 1978, for a more detailed discussion see Bamberg & Marchman 1991: 281). Their cognitive aspects have been focused upon within story-grammar paradigms which have attempted to test the notions' effectiveness on the readers' comprehension and recall of a text (e.g. Black & Bower 1980, Kintsch & Greene 1978).

Their linguistic aspects have been looked into by discourse cohesion frameworks with the aim of identifying the formal devices by which topic continuity and discontinuity are signalled in narrative and non-narrative texts in English as well as in other languages (e.g. Chafe 1980, 1988, Hinds 1979, Longacre 1979, 1983, 1989). In this discourse-analytic tradition, paragraph, episode or other partitioning constructs are normally treated as structural units that are delineated by the axes of action, time and location, that is, they present a unity of spatiotemporal and action unity. Thus, there is a general agreement that change of time, place, cast, tense and aspect markers are the grammatical signals expected at the beginning of thematic segments, ie episodes; certain suprasegmental features of pause, stress and pitch are also treated as recurrent

signals at episode boundaries in spoken language (e.g. weakening or devoicing at the end of an episode); their absence in written language is commonly made up for by use of indentation.

Notions such as episode and paragraph refer to meso-level textual units. However, no narrative segmentation process is refined enough for a text analysis unless it reaches the (low-level) basic unit of analysis. As in the case of meso-level units, there is little agreement among linguists on the definitional criteria of the minimal units of analysis in stretches of discourse. The relevant attempts mostly originate in the spoken language where linguists feel the need to account for the series of brief spurts met in speech. Crystal (1975) has called these spurts "*tone units*", Grimes (1975) "*information blocks*", Halliday "*information units*" (1967) and Kroll (1977) and Chafe (1980) "*idea units*". The criteria which come into play in the definition of all of these terms are syntactic, intonational and/or psychological. Chafe's "idea unit" is a prototypical example of how all three criteria can be combined. The term was adapted from Kroll, according to whom an idea unit is

a chunk of information which is viewed by the speaker/writer cohesively as it is given surface form. Thus it is related more to the psychological reality for the encoder than to a grammatical analysis of its form

Kroll 1977: 50

Expanding on the scope of this definition, Chafe (1980: 14ff) suggested that the prototypical idea unit is defined as follows:

- a. From the point of view of intonation, it is an intonation unit which ends with an intonation contour that can be called clause-final and which is preceded and followed by some kind of hesitation.
- b. From the point of view of syntax, it is one clause long consisting of one verb phrase and any accompanying noun phrases.

- c. From the point of view of psychological validity, it linguistically represents (realises) focuses of consciousness, that is, the amount of information which is maximally activated at a certain moment, given that the capacity of consciousness in processing information is highly limited.

Chafe (1987: 40) allowed for the following types of non-clausal idea units as variants departing from the prototypical definition of a clausal idea unit:

- a. Pieces of clauses such as subjects or predicates alone, or elements parasitic on or ancillary to clauses such as adverbial phrases, prepositional phrases and other complements, can function as separate idea units that express an orientation and starting point for the next idea unit.
- b. The same applies to expressions of agreement or understanding provided by the narrator or one of the interlocutors and to clausal dysfluencies such as false starts and afterthoughts.

These cases underline the fact that for a unit to function as an idea unit it is not necessary to fulfil all three criteria. They also suggest that there are often various discrepancies between the intonational and syntactic closure, which complicate the task of identifying a text's idea units. In fact, the view that there is a direct correlation between tone groups and syntactic units is nowadays far from self-evident. Neither the intuitive nor the experimental evidence seem to support the statement that tone group and clause are co-extensive units (see Quirk et al 1985). For instance, Comrie (1981) conducted a series of experiments testing Halliday's system of placing the right tones in any utterance. His subjects of experiments had been trained according to Halliday's system, but they still could not agree on the identification of single tonics in actual utterances. Similarly, Brown et al (1980) and Brown & Yule (1983) reported difficulty with consistently identifying tone groups by intonational criteria. From the above it

follows that one advantage of Chafe's definition of an idea unit is its flexibility which is reflected in the fact that it is built on a set of criteria instead of exclusively relying on one.

With the above as the background, the discussion will now move to the first segmentation procedure chosen for the data at hand which will be referred to as stanza-analytic method after its meso-level unit.

2.4.2 A Stanza-Analytic Method of Coding the Data

The analysis of narrative into the units of *line* and *stanza*, is prototypically met in J.P. Gee's work on children's narratives (1985, 1989a, 1989b, 1991), but the kind of approach which emphasises the recurrence of rhythmic patterns in stories' organisation originates in Hymes's work (1981, 1982). Hymes's analysis of Native American narratives led him to the observation of a pervasive patterning adhered to at every level of the text which reflected a culturally determined *rhetoric of action* and *logic of experience* (Hymes 1982: 121). Though lacking in cross-linguistic evidence, Hymes hypothesised that a society's close ties with orality is the prerequisite for such a patterning. This was backed up by the fact that the shaping in twos and fours or threes and fives in his data of Zuni and Chinookan narratives respectively was not an accidental choice; it was in accordance with the existence of a number rooted in the oral tradition (e.g. myths, folk songs, folktales). In other words, it reflected sociocultural ways of interpreting the world and making sense of experience.

Based on Hymes's ideas, Gee (1985, 1989a,b) formulated line and stanza as the basic units of narrative analysis. The lowest-level unit of line is roughly as long as a clause and it is based on Chafe's idea units. The two points in which Chafe's idea units differ from Gee's lines (1985: 14) are as follows:

- a. In Gee's model idea units with hesitations and false starts are not treated as separate lines.

- b. The few cases of clausal pieces such as adverbial phrases, subjects etc which count as separate idea units in Chafe's analysis if they are new information, in Gee's formulation of a line are "*collapsed into the clauses they belong to*" (idem).

Lines with a unity or "*constellation*" (idem) of theme, time, place and perspective make up the next higher-level unit, namely the stanza. A stanza is a narrowly constrained in terms of topic organisational unit. It specifically represents a thematically constant unit which stands as a contrast to prior units by virtue of incorporating a change of character, event and/or location. Gee's model of stanza-analysis finally recognises a highest-level unit which stands between the text and its stanzas and which in Chafe's terms incorporates major "*changes in the narrator's peripheral consciousness*" (1987: 29) when constructing the text. In other words, it signals a major break in the established thematic and spatiotemporal configuration of the text. This is called "*part*" and is defined in story-grammar terms such as setting, initiating event etc. Each narrative part comprises thematically related stanzas and is thus reminiscent of the acts of a theatrical play. In the analysis of the data at hand, the different narrative parts were mapped onto Labov's story-analytic categories (see §2.4.3).

Following Hymes, Gee put forward the culture-specificity of the line and stanza structure. In his view (1985: 10), different languages and different groups organise language with stanzas in different and culturally distinct ways. This was illustrated in his data of stories related by white and black children. The segmentation of these narratives into lines and stanzas disclosed different ways of narrativisation among black children as opposed to the conventions of white children's narratives. Stanza analysis thus served as a powerful tool for identifying and at the same time accounting for sociocultural differences in the production of children's narratives; furthermore, it was proposed as a way of approaching the issue of how the academic performance of children from different sociocultural backgrounds as well as their passage from orality to literacy is related to their narrative construction norms. This issue has been

at the heart of attention of the literature on children's narratives (e.g. Heath 1982, 1983, Michaels & Collins 1984, Scollon & Scollon 1981, Watson-Gegeo & Boggs 1977, etc). A recent study of Japanese children's personal narratives (Minami & McCabe 1991: 577-601) added to the idea that stanza analysis can be a quite helpful way of exploring sociocultural "*ways of telling*" (Heath 1983). The research reported that the organisation of the stories examined followed a pervasive pattern of three lines per stanza denoting orientation act and outcome. This pattern was found to coincide with the commonly practised literary form of "*haiku*" and furthermore to reflect the cultural value of brevity which is highly respected in Japan. In this case too the stanza structure of narratives was revealing of structures of thought and meanings shared by the community.

The fact that, as shown above, stanza analysis is inextricably bound up with a line of research that looks into the narrativisation of experience in the light of its sociocultural connections and implications, is well suited to the interests and theoretical premises of this thesis; it thus guided the choice of the method for the present data over more formalistic conceptualisations of narrative segments. This does not necessarily imply that the rest of the existing constructs are treated as invalid and non-operational. Instead, the choice of stanza analysis was a decision that endorsed Bamberg & Marchman's general guideline for "*picking and choosing*" segmentation constructs, according to which "*instead of attempting to provide global definitions that hold across different stories and narrative genres*" (1991: 283) researchers should select whatever suits best the context of their data. On the whole, in addition to its vital connection with the line of enquiry into the "culture-specificity" of narration, the strong points of stanza analysis which appealed to the present researcher can be summed up as follows:

- a. Unlike constructs such as episode and paragraph, the units of stanza-analysis have been driven by and formulated for oral narration.

- b. Stanza-analysis offers a way out of the definitional problems and controversy associated with notions such as episode, paragraph, topic, theme, scene etc.
- c. The low-level unit of line is essentially based on Chafe's idea unit which has by now been established as the commonest and least problematic unit of analysis employed for oral narration.
- d. The definition and conceptualisation of stanza-structure as the linguistic form and product of the human sense-making capacity is in accordance with the spirit of integration of the bottom-up with the top-down approaches to narrative construction underlying the postulation of binding and unfolding. Cognitively speaking, stanzas, according to Gee, represent "*lingerings of the mind*" (1989a: 68) within the text which "*spatialise*" it "*and make palpable its signifying system*" (idem: 67). Linguistically speaking, these lingerings are defined around focal points which are made up of a theme/place/time constellation. Thus, the notion of a stanza embraces and reconciles the two steps, ie the cognitive and linguistic, of the operation of narrative construction by being defined as the "*linguistic configuration of form and content that reflects... an underlying organisation*" (idem: 65) of the experiences moulded by sociocultural constraints. In this sense, it is arguable that the cognitive "stratum" of stanza-structure comprises culturally determined schemata of narrativisation.

2.4.2.1 Transcription and Transliteration Conventions

The conventions that will be employed from now on for the stanza-analytic units in the presentation of the examples are as follows:

/: indicates end of line.

new line: indicates beginning of stanza (marked with double spacing).

Except for the units of line and stanza which, as discussed, represent intonational in addition to thematic units, no other prosody and pausing devices will be employed in the transliteration of the data, except when immediately relevant to a point raised by the discussion. This decision was based on the grounds that the devices do not form vital part of the analysis.

The main transcription devices employed (adapted from Young 1984: 257) are as follows:

[]: Denotes hearer's turn, contribution from the audience

[[]]: Simultaneous speech

(): Editorial comments

(()): Indicates uncertainty, doubtful hearing

- : Correction phenomena

(he he): Laughter

Bold type highlights forms under examination; italics is used for the Greek text.

Parallel column format (Greek text on the left, English on the right) is employed for examples exceeding one stanza in length.

The transliteration from Greek is based on Tannen's adaptation (1989: 203) of the system developed by Bien & Loomis for the Modern Greek Studies Association, with few minor changes. Following are conventions which may benefit from explanation:

gh= /ɣ/, the Greek letter ghama (γ), a voiceless velar.

dh= /ð/, the Greek letter delta (δ), a voiced interdental fricative.

th= /θ/, the Greek letter theta (θ), a voiceless interdental fricative.

h= /χ/, the Greek letter chi (χ), a voiceless velar fricative. Like English "h", but with more restriction in one's throat.

x= /ks/, the Greek letter (ξ).

u= /u/, the Greek letters omicron upsilon (ου, transl. in Tannen as ou).

i= /i/, used to represent all five Greek orthographic variants for this vowel sound, namely iota (ι), eta (η), upsilon (υ), epsilon iota (ει) and omicron iota (οι). Tannen's transliteration which distinguishes among them is not adopted here.

2.4.3 Highpoint Analysis

As suggested in §2.4.1, the process of coding the stories for categories of narrative segmentation which elucidate the texts' mechanisms of thematic progression was complemented by their coding for types of narrative structure and structural sophistication. The former was realised by means of the stanza-analytic method which was selected as an ideal tool for capturing primarily the stories' binding and unfolding or local and global segmentation. The local segmentation is instantiated within a stanza's cohesive ties and links between its adjacent lines while the global segmentation is reflected in its relation with the story's overarching discourse topic as well as with the rest of the stanzas. In this latter respect, a stanza's boundaries operate as critical "decision points" for the text's macro-organisation, as will be shown and discussed in chapters 3 and 4.

To thoroughly capture the tight web of relations that define binding/unfolding and evaluating components, the stanza-analytic units were mapped onto the analytical categories (ie narrative parts) which displayed the stories' structural sophistication. These were employed as the textual unit between the text itself and the meso-level unit of stanzas. This means that they are inclusive of stanzas: e.g. a story's Complicating Action comprises thematically related stanzas. The method chosen for the purpose of identifying narrative parts is an amalgamation of Peterson & McCabe's (1983) *highpoint analysis*, which forms an adaptation of the Labovian model, with Longacre's (1981) *profile model*. In the framework of highpoint analysis Labov's description of a narrative which builds up to a high point, evaluatively dwells on it and then resolves it was established as the *classic* pattern of narrative. From there on, the close study of a corpus of children's personal stories led to a taxonomy of different kinds (ie structural patterns) of narrative based on their deviation from this

classic pattern. One common category of this taxonomy was the *ending-at-the-high-point* narratives which build up to a high point and end without resolving it. The rest of the patterns identified constitute non-climactic narratives: *leap frogging* narratives jump from one event to the other, leaving out major events that must be inferred by the listener; the *chronological* pattern is made up of a simple description of successive events while the *two-event* pattern consists of too few sentences for any highpoint pattern to be recognised, or it extensively reiterates and evaluates only two events. Finally, the *disoriented* narrative is too confused for the listener to understand and the *miscellaneous* narrative is any narrative that does not fit into one of the above categories.

Following Fleischman (1990), the above scheme was merged with Longacre's highly comparable profile model for the analysis of the data at hand. This decision was motivated by the need to overcome the deadlock of the Labovian model's non-recursivity regarding a story's climactic point. Allowing for the existence of more than one climax in a narrative suits only short and self-contained stories while it is completely counterintuitive in the case of multi-episode stories. Building Longacre's model into the highpoint analysis allows for more than one point of maximum tension in a narrative, as a result of Longacre's basic assumption that a story can evolve recursively around peak points which are subsequently loosened in tension or resolved.

The above highpoint-analytic method of coding the data was chosen as a useful tool for uncovering the unfolding and especially the evaluative component in the data. Specifically, while evaluation is treated here as an integral part of a story's discourse coherence and can thus be approached through the stanza-analytic method of story segmentation as well, it is nevertheless prototypically associated with suspense points, that is, points of mounting and subsequent release of tension. Thus, the hypothesis behind the application of highpoint analysis was that different structural patterns implicate different evaluative choices; this was confirmed (see chapters 6 and 7). At the same time, the climax, being a story's "*zone of turbulence*" (Longacre 1981: 351),

is a *locus classicus* for looking into macro-organisational (ie unfolding) choices as well (e.g. formal features by which the climactic stanzas are set off).

2.4.4 Patterns of Structural Sophistication in the Data

The first finding of the highpoint analysis in the data revealed a considerably reduced variation with regard to the non-climactic patterns employed, compared to Peterson & McCabe’s findings. This is attributable to the nature of the data in each case: developmental forms of narration (ie Peterson & McCabe’s data) are more likely to present primitive or less sophisticated structural patterns. By contrast, the only non-climactic form of narration met in SA is the two-event pattern and this occurs very rarely. SC also exhibited the use of the chronological pattern but there are no instances of the rest of the patterns that are reported by Peterson & McCabe. The next interesting finding is that on the whole, SC in all corpora at hand manifested a significantly higher percentage of non-climactic patterns compared to SA. The above findings can be seen in table 1 below³.

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC
Classic	85	40	61.4	28.6
End-at-hp	10	5	33.2	14.3
Two-event	5	40	5.4	42.8
Chronol.	0	15	0	14.3

Table 1: Mean Percentages of Patterns of Structural Sophistication

This audience-related distribution of climactic narration can only be accounted for with reference to contextual parameters. Structural patterns have been reported to exhibit a crucial dependence on the story’s content (e.g. Hudson et al 1992: 129-50).

³ Unless otherwise stated, in all tables of this thesis, the numbers of subjects on which the statistical analysis is based are as follows: BSA: n=20, BSC: n=20, FSA: n= 30, FSC: n=30, WSA: n=20, WSC: n=20 (for more details see §2.1.3).

However, as will be gradually shown, their context-sensitivity in the data is much more far-reaching, covering the audience variable and its effect on the stories' function and purpose. Here, it suffices to say, that in terms of the stories' content, for reasons which will emerge later (see ch 7), the category of narratives which as a rule favour non-climactic patterns in SC is that of sensational narratives and in particular of death narratives; by contrast, SA normally structure sensational content around suspense and peak points.

The next instance of the context-sensitivity of the stories' structural patterns is related to the context of their elicitation. Specifically, the basic corpus presents a significantly higher percentage of classic stories both for adults and for children (see table 1 above). By contrast, the free corpus comprises more ending at the high point stories. Thus, prompting a story (ie the case of the basic corpus) proves to cause the narrator more concern for delivering a complete story, that is, a story which will be explicitly framed for its ending and whose tension will be explicitly resolved. By contrast, stories which occur intraconversationally (ie free corpus) as a rule exhibit a dramatic flexibility in their structuring: they can readily dispense with a great deal of initial and final framing as well as of dwelling on the climactic point. This finding will become clearer in the discussion of the stories' distribution of narrative elements.

Dispensing with a story's final framing, which is the case of the ending at the high point narratives, is crucially associated with the category of humorous personal narration which is very common in MG naturalistic settings. Humorous stories in the data favour a "*climacto-telic*" patterning which is in many ways reminiscent of the structuring of jokes in narrative form as discussed in the literature (Bauman 1984, 1986, Nash 1985, Chiaro 1992). Specifically, it is a cumulative patterning exalted to its climax which provides a punchline, ie the typical culmination of jokes. This climactotelicity is frequently underscored through the repetition of the climax (example 9 below) or more commonly of its punchline alone (example 10 below). This repetition harmoniously follows the audience's backchannelling, which in this

case is as a rule realised in the form of laughter. The rule of thumb here is that the more successful the story's uptake is, the more its punchline is repeated: e.g.

(9) Repetition of climax: The extract is from a story which can be titled as "Witnessing a political rally that went wrong":

*... milaghe buf ta nerantzia apo kato na
pighenune/ na htipane duv duv/ aftos
na milai/*

*se mia fasi omos ena ton perni/ ghiati
molis pighenane ta nerantzia aftos
eskive/ fevgthane ta nerantzia
sikonotan/ milaghe sti sinehia/*

*sto telos tu travai enas duuv/ opote lei
eshos eshos eshos/ tora tha sas miliso
ghia tin aghrotiki politiki/*

(he he)

*(repetition of the climax) ta nerantzia
na pighenune sinnefo/ na htipane duv
duv/ na vghenune kati koritsia eki pu
ihe idhieteres ke na kanune/ ohi allo
sas parakalume/*

*me to ena pu ton htipise ton erixe kato/
pai mesa sas leo/ ke meta apo ligho
vgheni exo/ eshos eshos eshos/ tora tha
sas miliso ghia tin aghrotiki politiki/*

*... he was speaking splat went the
oranges/ falling split splat/ he kept on
speaking/*

*but at some point one of them hits
him/ because as an orange would
approach he would duck/ and then
stand up again/ and start speaking
again/*

*at the end somebody throws one and
splat/ so he says shame shame shame/
I will now go on to agricultural
policies/*

(he he)

*(repetition of the climax) the oranges
going splat/ falling split splat/ some
girls who were his secretaries coming
out and saying/ please that's enough/*

*when that one hit him he ducked/ and
he goes inside/ and then he comes out/
shame shame shame/ I will now go on
to agricultural policies/*

Thomas H., FSA

The audience were so captivated by the climactic event of the above story that the narrator felt compelled to repeat it in order to prolong the positive effect of its narration.

(10) Repetition of punchline:

... se mia dhosi tu lei hliarize hliarize hliarize

(father telling his fat and hungry son): ... **at some point he tells him
eat up eat up eat up**

The essence of the punchline above lies in the choice of the word "*hliarize*" for the imperative which is a funny remnant of "*malliari*" (literally "hairy" language), ie a rather artificial register created at the beginning of this century by proponents of "*dimotiki*" (low register in the history of Greek diglossia) to contrast to "*katharevousa*" (high register). The punchline naturally causes a great deal of laughter and is then repeated:

afto sinevi mia mera pu muna spiti tus

this happened one day when I was in
their place/

*lei lipon tu Rafail hliarize hliarize
hliarize hliarize hliarize/*

**so he tells Rafael eat up eat up eat
up eat up eat up** (said in a quick tone)

(he he)

(he he)

hliarize hliarize hliarize

eat up eat up eat up

(he he)

(he he)

re ti ghinete

"it's a funny world"

Hristos H., FSA

The same patterning is also met in non-humorous ending at the high point stories to which the extract below belongs. The story is about a pilot's getting into trouble as a result of having violated flight regulations. In this case too, the repetition immediately keys the story's *footing*, ie interactional alignment towards the addressee (Goffman 1981: 128), through emphasising its climactotelic nature which bears the story's point:

(11) ... *ke kateveno kato/ afto dhen to
ha xanadhi/ i kaliptra kato aspri/ proti
fora mu hi tihi afto/ alati/*

and I go down (ie get off the
airplane)/ and I'd never seen this
before/ **the windscreen white/** it's the
first time this has happened to me/ **salt**
(ie the windscreen had gathered sea

salt as a result of the low flight which the pilot had illegally done)/

*kateveno kato iiii/ ade tora na ne o
diikitis eki/ oli/ oli kato/
vlepo tin kaliptra aspri/ leo tora ti
kanume/ milame ghia alati/ katharo
alati/ kalas milame/ katharo alati/...*

I come down/ ooh.../ the squadron leader being down there/ everyone/ everyone down there/ **I see the windscreen white/** I tell myself now what/ **we're talking about salt/ pure salt/ "kalas"** (famous Greek brand of salt)/ **pure salt/**

Takis G., FSA

Cases of climax or punchline repetition are the most explicit instances in the data of the effect of audience reaction on narrative structuring. This is so, since as already suggested in §2.3.2, explicit challenges to a story's structure and point or suggestions for its shaping and re-shaping by the addressees are absent.

2.4.4.1 Coding for Narrative Elements

To complete the highpoint analysis of the data, every line was coded for each of the Labovian structural categories, namely for **orientation**, **complicating action (CA)**, **evaluation** and **resolution**. The coding was adopted from Peterson & McCabe (1983). Orientation like the category itself includes any statement which encodes descriptive information about the story's spatiotemporal setting and characters and in general any situative material in the form of backgrounded or parenthetical comments which surround the story's plot-forwarding structure, ie the CA. The CA covers all propositions of narrative action. Evaluation embraces wholly evaluated propositions in the form of external evaluative comments or references to characters' internal states and emotive reactions. The criterion employed for this category was the same as in Labov's cases of external evaluation: specifically, only lines which totally suspended narrative action were categorised as wholly evaluative. By contrast, the intermediate cases of the Labovian embedded evaluation (e.g. evaluative action) which only partially suspend the plot-forwarding were not coded in this category: e.g.

(12) a. *...esthanthika ekini tin ora
tromera apomonomeni ke tromera moni*

... at that moment I felt terribly isolated and terribly lonely/ (I felt) that there

*mu/ oti dhen ipirhe kanenas/ oti imun
o monos anthropos/*

was nobody out there/ that I was the
only person/

*esthantika egatalimeni ine o akrivis
oros/ pliros egatalimeni to opio to
fovithika para poli/...*

I felt abandoned that's the right word/
absolutely abandoned which made me
very scared...

Evi B., BSA

b. ... *afto to toso aghapimeno mu
prosopo argha i ghrighora tha fevghe
apo koda mas/*

... this person so dear to me would
sooner or later pass away/

*simesthimata protoghnora ghia mena/
vathis o ponos mu aghanaktisi ki ena
meghalo ghiati/...*

emotions I'd never before experienced/
deep sorrow anguish and an unresolved
question (ellipsis of the verb phrase)/...

Ghiannis B., BSA

The two examples above are instances of wholly evaluative lines: the external narrator steps into his narrative (ie totally suspends the action) and explicitly tells its point.

c. (from a story about the accident that the narrator's daughter had) ...
*lipon aftos etrehe ke kornarize/ egcho kratagha ti Vivi/ i mama su
travaghe ta mallia tis ki ekleghe as pume/ ...*

... so he was running and honking/ I was holding Vivi in my arms/
your mother was pulling at her hair and crying you know...

Thomas H., FSC

d. ... *o pateras mu exo frenon evale tis
fones/ eno egcho tromokratimenos
amosos etrexa na krifto sto piso meros
tu kipu mas kato apo ena trapezi tu
ping pong/*

... my father furious started yelling at
me/ while I terrified immediately
started running towards the end of the
garden to hide under the ping-pong
board/

*ekleghe ke xtipiomuna sinehia/ eno i
mitera mu pio kalmarismeni
prospathuse na me kani na
kathisihaso...*

I was crying and clamouring all the
time/ while my mother calmer was
trying to soothe me...

Nikos T., BSC

By contrast, in 12c and 12d above the evaluation presents a greater degree of embeddedness in that it is provided in the form of "*on-the-scene reactions*" rather than "*latter-day*" (Fludernik 1991: 393) narratorial comments. In Labov's terms, the examples constitute instances of evaluative action resulting from the climactic events (ie in 12c the accident of narrator's daughter and in 12d the narrator's car accident).

Finally, the category of resolution incorporates all statements that encode results (reactions) of the narrative action. Following Peterson & McCabe (1983), the category did not only cover the Labovian resolution section which follows the climax, but also the local results/reactions interspersed in the CA.

A ramification of the Labovian model which needed to be taken into account in the process of coding the data for the above narrative elements was the treatment of a narrative vs a non-narrative clause. While in Labov's model, as already discussed (see §1.4.4), subordinate and past progressive clauses do not count as part of the narrative line, that is, of the series of narrative clauses that make up a story's CA, research on narrative grounding (see §1.5.1) has adequately demonstrated that this is far from being an absolute guideline. Both subordinate and past progressive clauses have often been found to belong to the narrative skeleton as plot-forwarding elements, as a result of the specific context in which they are placed (e.g. Chvany 1984, Couper-Kuhlen 1989, Dry 1983, Fleischman 1990, Reinhart 1984, Thompson 1984). This view was adopted for the data at hand and thus no line was coded for one of the Labovian categories independently of its function in its textual environment.

A *t-test*⁴ analysis was performed on the results of the stories' coding for narrative elements. The analysis showed that SC employ less CA lines compared to SA, both

⁴ A **matched t-test** was performed for the basic and the written corpus since they involve paired data (ie the same subject performs the same story twice). By contrast, the t-test performed for the free corpus was appropriate for independent samples (for a discussion of the two kinds of t-tests see Hatch & Farhady 1982: 114ff). The same decision applies to all the t-tests that will be referred to from now on. All of the statistics in this thesis was generated using the BMDP suite of statistical programmes.

in the basic corpus ($t= 2.21$, $df=19$, $p<.05$) and in the free corpus ($t= 2.34$, $df=58$, $p<.05$), in favour of more orientation statements⁵. This can be seen in table 2 below.

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC
Orientation	32.6	39.2	25.5	42
Complicating Action	37.1	28.9	49.9	31.9
Evaluation	13.8	16.8	14.2	11.8
Resolution	16.5	15.1	10.4	14.3

Table 2: Mean Percentages of Narrative Elements

At first glance this finding reflects an assessment of the addressees' decoding abilities on the part of the narrators which results in an attempt to provide the young addressees with as much background information as possible. In addition though, it matches the increased choice of the two-event pattern in the SC which relies on description and emotion rather than on action; thus, the resulting stories are more stories of being than doing. Hudson et al (1992) reported a highly comparable mode of narration in their data of children's stories under the name of "*moment-in-time stories*" and claimed its correlation with stories of a happy experience. Moment-in-time stories contained less dynamic action thus achieving coherence through their richness of description and use of emotional evaluation (idem: 129).

To illustrate the above, following is an extract from a story that occurred at a Christmas dinner-party in which two of the adults had already related previous Christmas experiences to the children who are there:

⁵ As is conventional in applied linguistics, the α level of the statistical tests throughout this thesis is .05. Notice though that the p-value which will be provided in the results of each statistical significance test, will not only report whether it is less significant than the pre-determined value of α , but also the lowest α value at which the observed value of the statistic is significant (ie $p<.05$, $p<.01$, $p<.001$).

(13)... ke dhuleva stin Athina/ ke thimame apo tis proighumenes meres pu katevena kato sta maghazia/ evlepa tis vitrines/ kati pu dhen to hame kato stin eparhia toso edona kamia fora/...

evlepa tis vitrines pu tan stolismenes/ ke ton kosmo pu etrehe ghia psonia/ tus mikropolites/ ki ola edhinan ena hroma ghiortis/

ke meta afto oloklirithike me ti ghiorti pu kaname sto sholio/ pu dhuleva tin proti hronia/ ghiati edho pu ta leme eggo meso tis dhulias mu niotho ta Hristughenna/

dhuleva sena idhiothiko eki pera/ ihame proti taxi/ stolisame lipon oli tin taxi/ etimasame ti ghiortula me traghudhia me piimata/

ekini tin imera itan to kati allo/ isos epidhi itan i proti hronia pu ekana ghiorti me mikra pedhia/ vevea ke tis alles hronies para poli edona ta thimame ta Hristughenna/ alla isos ekini epidhi itan i proti hronia pu ekana mazi me ta pedhia mu ehi mini alismoniti/

ta pedhakia pu kanane ta traghudhakia ta piimatakia/ oli afti i ghonis/ irthan sto sholio/ traghudhisame mazi/...

ke pragmatika itan allo praghma/ ine alithia oti eho perasi ki ala Hristughenna ma para pola Hristughenna/ ma afta ehun mini mes stin psihi mu/ otan ta thimame niotho mia siginisi/ pane tora kapia hronia kapies dhekaeties dhiladhi/

... and I remember how I'd go to the shops before Christmas/ window shopping/ stuff you couldn't get in the country/

I gazed at the shop-windows so prettily decorated/ and everyone busy shopping/ the stall salesmen/ and everything had a festive colour/...

and all this came to a climax with the party at the school where I worked the first year/ because come to think of it it's through my job that I experience Christmas/

I worked at a public school over there/ we had the first year infants/ so we decorated the whole classroom/ we prepared the "little" party (diminutive) with cards and rhymes/

that day it was really something/ maybe because it was my first time spending Christmas with little children/ of course I have vivid memories of other Christmas/ but maybe because it was the first year I spent with my class that made it unforgettable/

and it really was something/ all the little kids who sang "little" songs and poems (diminutives)/ all those parents who came to the school/ we sang together/...

and it was really something special/ it's true I've spent other Christmas/ quite a few in fact with my classes/ but that year is unforgettable/ when I remember it I am always moved/ it's been a few years decades rather/

The above story is typical of the lack of action combined with an increased static description and evaluation met in numerous SC: the effect of this choice is to convey the feeling of "a moment in time" rather than the intensity of rapid action changes. Thus, the narrative tempo is particularly slow. The choice of this pattern is to a major extent regulated by the same set of decisions underlying the rest of non-climactic patterns in the SC, which will gradually emerge throughout this thesis.

The difference between SA and SC in terms of orientation and complication, in other words in the balance between description and action, is reduced in the basic corpus. Again this finding matches the choice of structural patterns, namely the increased adherence of the stories of the basic corpus to their initial and final framing compared to the free corpus. As with the increase of ending at the high point stories in the free corpus, it is also more frequent for free stories to plunge almost into *medias res* when triggered by the surrounding conversational context, and to dispense with the initial orientation section which accounts for a great deal of the orientation clauses of a story. For instance, in a discussion about the view commonly stated that hunters tend to exaggerate their hunting "feats", Vaggelis, who is a hunter himself, breaks into the discussion as follows:

san ton Taso to Rumelioti pu erhete prohthes ke mu lei...

like Tasos Rumeliotis who comes to me two days ago and tells me....

This line forms the beginning of his story; the story's initial orientation section is completely abolished or at least reduced to the temporal "*prohthes*" (two days ago). However, a separate orientation section is much more common in the basic corpus as the following example shows:

(14) (Orientation) *prin dhio hronia
edhina ghia dhiploma/ ekino ton kero
itane tetarto etos i trito dhe thimame/*

(Orientation) two years ago I was about
to take my driving test/ it was my
fourth year in university/ or the third
one/ I don't quite remember/

*ke - na tane mais/ ke i zoi kiluse
kanonika opos pada/*

and - was it in May/ and life was
normal as usual/

*itane Paraskevi tu Pasha/ ke imuna me
to filo mu ton Kosta sto spiti/ ke
dhulevame ghia mia erghasia ghia ti
sholi/*

it was good Friday/ and I was at home
with my friend Kosta/ and we were
working on a project/

(Onset of CA) *htipai to telefono...*

(onset of CA) the telephone rings...

Alex N., BSA

Thus, it can be argued that in real world contexts narrative elements which fall into the schema of a complete story with a beginning and an ending are often eliminated as a result of the story's context of occurrence.

	WSA	WSC
Orientation	34.9	33.8
Complicating Action	26.5	28.1
Evaluation	30.1	23.8
Resolution	8.5	14.3

Table 3: Mean Percentages of Narrative Elements in Written Stories

A category whose context-sensitivity proved to be modality-associated is that of external evaluation as a separate section intercalated between the climax of the CA and its resolution. As table 3 above shows, evaluation significantly increases in written stories both for adults, $t= 2.18$, $df=19$, $p<.05$, and for children, $t= 2.15$, $df=19$, $p<.05$, compared to their corresponding oral stories. Close inspection of the data suggested that while all stories in the data present (externally) evaluative comments spread throughout the narrative, the superimposed separate evaluation section which comes as a break after the climax is much more frequent in written stories. This suggests that

its presence belongs to a literacy- rather than orality-associated model of narration; it is in fact congruent with the "describe your emotions and explicitly refer to the story's importance" aesthetic requirement of MG schools. The same finding about the absence of a separate evaluation section in oral stories was reported about Hopi Coyote narration as well (Shaul et al 1987: 3-25), which provided further evidence for the fact that the category lacks an orality-associated grounding. In a similar vein, Labov (1972) himself claimed that middle-class speakers (ie speakers closer to literate practices) are more likely to employ externally evaluative statements compared to working-class speakers. The device's obligatory occurrence in the written stories is partly attributable to the absence of the addressee and of his backchannelling which makes the need for explicitly stating the story's point more apparent: e.g.

(15) The climactic events of the story from which the following evaluation section is extracted are the news of the narrator's grandmother's death followed by the discovery of the theft of his motorcycle. The evaluation section follows the narration of the events:

*Vevea mu kane ediposi i adidhrasi mu
pu praghmatika dhen tin perimena./ I
adimetopisi itan praghmatika poli
psihri ek merus mu./ Dhiapistosa oti
telika o anthropos ehi meghala
apothemata adohis ke mihanismus
aminas/ etsi oste na adimetopizi kathe
dhiskoli katastasi./ Pote dhen xeris pote
tha su simvun praghmata kathoristika
ghia ti zoi su/ pu dhistihos ligha boris
na kanis ghia na ta ghiatrepsis i na ta
aneresis./*

Naturally I was amazed by my reaction
which I didn't expect at all./ My
reactions were really cool and
controlled./ I realised at last that man
has a great deal of potential stamina
and mechanisms of self-defense/ so
that he can cope with difficult
situations./ You never know when
crucial things will happen in your life/
and you can do very little to change
them or prevent them./

Panaghiotis G., WSA

As can be seen from the above extract, the evaluation section forms a long and persistent part, clearly set off, and conveying the presence of a dominating external narrator. Such a separate and autonomous section, inserted after the CA, is missing from the oral data. The break between the CA and its resolution in the form of evaluation, which Labov postulated, is replaced by an intermingling of internal,

embedded and external evaluative devices with action comments. It is this artistry of intercalating evaluative comments into the narrative action which underlies the pairing of the narrative with the non-narrative modes in oral stories.

2.5 Stanza Analysis and Highpoint Analysis in the "Forty Five Johnnies": An Exemplification

The following story will exemplify the coding system applied to all of the stories at hand prior to any specific textual analyses: in particular, it will illustrate the two analytic methods (ie stanza-analysis and highpoint analysis) which were employed as a point of departure for discovering the stories' binding/unfolding and evaluating devices. The story is of sensational content, namely it concerns a car accident and subsequent brawl mainly between the driver's brother and the relatives of the child who was run over. The story was related by the driver's wife Fotini who eye-witnessed the accident. The setting for the story is Fotini's house where she relates the story in a company of four people, namely her husband, a friendly couple who are middle-aged like Fotini and her husband, and her daughter aged 25. Except for her husband, none of the other people are familiar with the events narrated.

The story will be referred to from now on as the "Forty Five Johnnies": the title was inspired by the punchline of its coda which alludes to the common Greek proverb "*saradapede Ghiannidhes enos kokoru ghnosi*" (forty five Johnnies have a chicken's wit). The allusion functions as a negative evaluation of the child who was run over named Ghiannis. Thus, it implies that the child's carelessness was the reason of the accident. The telling of the story was triggered by a discussion concerning an upcoming trial that the narrator's husband had to attend as a result of the accident.

The story's legend is as follows: the onset of its narrative parts is written in bold above the relevant text, while the orientation, evaluation and resolution lines that are embedded in the CA are bold, underlined and written in capital letters respectively.

(16) Abstract

akuste na sas po egho pos eghine/

let me tell you how it all happened/

Orientation

*thelame na pame se ena ghamo sti
Messinia/ egho o Lias o Ghiorghos o
adherfos tu ki i sinifadha mu i
Ghiorghia/*

we wanted to go to this wedding in
Messinia/ myself Lias his brother
George and his wife Georgia/

Complicating Action

*benume lipon sto aftokinito/ ke
katevenume pros karkalu/ o pateras su
isiha ki orea/*

so we get into the car/ and we head
down to Karkalu/ (turning to her
daughter) your dad was driving nice
and safe (in the original ellipsis of the
verb)/

*mesimeri itane tris i ora/ leme as
fighume ke ligo noritera na pame sto
ghamo aneta/ mi skotothume ke sto
dhromo/*

it was three o'clock in the afternoon/
we say let's leave a bit earlier so that
we can go to the wedding comfortably/
we don't want to kill ourselves/

*e na pame sti Valira na allaxume san
anthropi/ **ghiati ihame fighi me ta**
prohira mas/ na dhume ke tus kubarus/
na afisume ke ta dhemata mesa ta
dhora/*

you know we wanted to go to Valira
and get changed in time/ 'cos **we'd**
gone in our casuals/ we wanted to see
the in-laws too/ to leave our wedding
gifts with them/

*ftanume sti strofi opos pai eki ghia ti
Dhimitsana/ vlepi o adras mu kinisi/
aftokinita stamatimena/
anthropus apo dho na mazevune
karidhia/ mia kikloforia re pedhi mu se
mia strofi perierghi/*

we get to the turning off towards
Dimitsana/ my husband sees traffic up
ahead/ cars were parked (lit: ellipsis of
the verb)/ people picking walnuts/ a lot
of cars you know on a tricky curve/

*kovi/ **pighene ghiro sta triada/**
kathos ekopse tahitita ohi prin kopsi
kornari/ kornai tutuuu/*

he slows down/ **he was doing thirty/**
as he was killing the speed no before
that he sounds the horn/ he sounds the
horn honk honk/

*sti sinehia kovi tahitita/ ki epano pu
perni ti strofi vlepi/ vlepume ki emis
dhiladhi dhio aftokinita stamatimena/*

then he slows down/ and as he turns he
sees/ and of-course we see too two
parked cars/

*ki opos pai na perasi ta dhio aftokinita
petaghetete ena pedhi apo to piso*

and as he is going past the two cars a
child rushes out of the car behind/ **the**

*aftokinito/ aghrotiko to aftokinito/
brosta sto dhromo/*

Climax 1

*frenari o Lias eki kato/ ke to pedhi pai
etsi/ ki anathema to kefali tu pano pu
eftase sti mesi tu dhromu xanaghirizi
kata to aftokinito to stamatimenos/*

*ke xanaghirizi ke kani etsi epano/
akubai ta herakia tu pano sto kapo/ ke
fevghune ta herakia tu/ KE PEFTI
BROSTA STIS RODHES/*

Results of High Point Action

*panaghia mu panaghia mu kanume
emis/ sok/ to ti pathame dhiladhi dhe
leghete/*

*kateveni o Lias sikoni to pedhi/ IHE
HTIPISI LIGHO STO PODHI TU KE
STA HERIA/PUTHENA ALLU/*

*plakonune i arurei i dhimitsanites/ vre
palianthrope vre palianthrope/ vre
anthrope mu ti pighes na mas kanis/ na
skotosis to pedhi/*

*ke pane na ton piasune apo dho kana
dhio tris/ ki i alli na ton litzarune/ vre
palianthrope vre palianthrope/*

*o kuniadhos mu o Ghiorghos tora/ piso
re ghaidhuria tus lei re vlakes re zoa
tus lei/ adi na mazepsete to pedhi sas/*

Climax 2

*me to etsi pu kani o Ghiorghos ki
aghrievi petaghetes mia ghineka pu tane
ghiaghia tu pedhiu/ petaghetes ke ton*

car was a farm pick-up/ onto the
street (ellipsis for rushes out)/

Lias brakes as hard as he can/ and the
child goes running like this (imitating)/
and damn as he was in the middle of
the road he turns back towards the
parked car/

and he turns back and goes like this
(gesture) as the car hits him/ he puts
his hands on the hood like this
(gesture)/ and lets go/ **AND HE
FALLS IN FRONT OF THE
WHEELS/**

we're going oh my god oh my god/ we
were shocked (lit: ellipsis of the verb
phrase)/ I can't tell you how bad it
was/

Lias gets out and picks up the child/
**HE WAS SLIGHTLY BRUISED ON
HIS ARMS AND LEGS/ BUT
NOWHERE ELSE/**

those dirty rats the Dimitsanians arrive
(lit: arrive those dirty...)/ you bastard
you bastard/ are you trying to kill
somebody/ you almost killed the child/

and two or three of them grab him like
this/ and the rest screaming at him/ you
bastard you bastard/

now George my brother-in-law (ellipsis
for "says")/ get back you louts you
berks you morons he tells them/ you
should have been looking after the
bloody child/

just as George is winding himself up
this woman the child's grandma
lurches at him/ she lurches and

ghratsunai edho/ KI ARHIZUNE TA EMATA/

scratches him/ AND BLOOD WAS SHED/

amesos ki i alli na pane na ton skotosune/ ki o Ghiorghos omos na kopanai etsi me to ena heri/ ke to allo na to kratai etsi/

and the others immediately going on him trying to kill him/ and George whacking them like this with his one arm (gesture)/ and holding the other like this (the audience know that George has got a disability in one arm)/

Resolution of Climax 2

ti na kano tora ghia na tus iremiso/ petaghome exo apo to aftokinito/ re pedhia tus leo ghia onoma tu theu ime dhaskala/ re pedhia ghia onoma tu theu thelame na skotosume to pedhi/

what could I do to calm the tempers/ I jump out of the car/ for God's sake I tell them I'm a teacher/ for God's sake do you think we wanted to kill the child please/

apo mesa o Lias tus eleghe/ ghia sigha re pedhia/ ghia piaste to pedhi na dhume apo koda/

Lias was going from inside the car/ you guys calm down/ let's have a look at the child/

to pernun to pedhi agalia/ lene na to pame sto kedro Ighias/ kala itan to pedhi alla min ihe kamia emorrhagia/

they take the child in their arms/ they say let's take it to the Health Centre/ **the child was alright but they were worried about internal bleeding/**

(Back to the building up of the CA)

telos padon pame/ afti brosta ki emis apo piso/ koda ki o pateras ki i mana tu pedhiu/

anyway we set off/ they in front we behind/ the child's father and mother as well/

ftanume sto kedro Ighias/ o Ghiorghos anevasmeni i piesi/ kane mu enesi tis lei/ kitaxe me ki emena/

we arrive in the Health Centre/ George still being upset/ give me a shot he tells her (ie the nurse or doctor)/ have a look at me too/

ke tha kano minisi/ mia foni ena kako/ ki i alli apexo etimi san ta kokoria ghia tsakomo/

and I'll sue them/ and screaming and shouting/ **and the other ones outside raring for a fight/**

katse re isiha tu leme tu Ghiorghu na dhume ti tha kanume/ na pame sti dhulia mas/ pighename se ghamo/

get a grip of yourself we tell him/ we've got to get out of here/ we were supposed to go to the wedding/

*exo sto kedro Ighias etimi san ta
kokoria/ i men apo dho i dhe apo ki
na tsakothun/ o Ghiorghos dhiladhi ki
i alli apo ki/*

*ekinos o gheros ftei ekane eki mia
ghria/ ti na pume ghia ton odhigho/ o
odhighos ine kirios/*

*ki o Ghiorghos na tus pernai apo ta
efta potamia/ tha kano minisi tus
eleghe/ tha kanume ki emis minisi/*

*en to metaxi eghe ime dhikastikos lei o
Kustenis enas thios tu pedhiu/ ki o Lias
tu lei mi me foverizis emena ama ise
dhikighoros/ to pedhi petahtike/ to
pedhi petahtike/*

Resolution

*telos padon to apotelesma ine oti kapu
varethikane/ ke lei na to pame stin
Tripoli/ leme na rhume ki emis/ ohi
min erhosaste/*

*ke pragmati to pighane/ ke pira apo ti
Valira telefono ke mu pane kiria mu to
dhioxane/ to stilane sto spiti ghiati
dhen ihe tipota/*

*ke tin alli mera xekiname eghe ki o
adras mu na pame na to dhume sti
Dhimitsana/ ki i anthropi eki mas
dhehtikane sa messies/ telios
dhiaforetiki/ ke sighnomes ki afta/*

*piasame filies eki/ ipame ghia ta
pedhia mas/ to ena spudhazi edho to
allo eki/*

*Ki ekinos o thios ine kathighitis tis
Padiu/ ehi doktora/ ki oti thelume ghia*

**outside the Health Centre the others
raring for a fight/ one camp on one
side and the other on the other side/
I mean George on one side and all
the rest on the other/**

it's that old man an old woman was
going/ we've got nothing against the
driver/ the driver is a right gent/

and George giving them a hard time/
he was going I'll sue you/ we'll sue
you too/

at this point Kustenis the child's uncle
tells I'm a magistrate/ and Lias tells
him you can't intimidate me if you are
a magistrate/ it was the child that
rushed out/ it was the child that rushed
out/

anyway they finally got bored/ and
they say we'll take it to Tripoli/ we tell
them we're coming with you/ no no
don't bother/

and so they took it/ and I called from
Valira and they told me madam the
child was discharged/ we sent him
home 'cos there was nothing wrong
with him/

and next day my husband and I set off
for Dimitsana to pay the child a visit/
and the people there received us like
the Messiah/ complete change of
attitude/ and we're sorry and the likes/

so we became friends/ we talked about
our children/ one studies here the other
there/

**and this uncle is a professor at
Padios University/ he's got a PhD/
and our children can call him whenever**

*ta pedhia mas na hume to telefono tu
kelipa/*

they need him and things like that
(ellipsis of "he said")/

Coda

*etsi teliose to panighiri/ apo tote tus
eho pari kana dhio telefona/
iposhethikame na stilume ke dhoru tu
Ghianni alla dhen to stilame/ bori na
pame kamia mera kana pehnidhi kati
tetio/*

and so that's how the whole fuss
ended/ since then I've called them a
couple of times/ we promised we'd buy
Johnny a present but we haven't done
so yet/ we may take him some toy
sooner or later/

*stus saradapede Ghiannidhes/ stus
kokoromialus Ghiannidhes/*

(ellipsis: we make buy a toy) for the
forty five Johnnies/ the chicken-brained
Johnnies/

Fotini B., FSA

2.6 Summary

This chapter focused on the data on which this study is based, thus preparing the ground for the textual analyses in the following chapters. The first issue of detailed analysis involved the different stages of data elicitation; emphasis was placed on the specific components of the storytelling events and on the motivations for the elicitation of each corpus of data. The result of the data elicitation procedure is a wide range of MG personal stories which will serve the purposes of this research and which make up the following corpora: (Oral) Basic corpus, (Oral) Free corpus, Written corpus, Children's (oral) stories.⁶ As the discussion showed, the awareness of problems commonly occurring in the area of relevant studies, served as valuable experience for setting up this study's research design.

Having provided an overview of the phases of data collection, the discussion moved to preliminary analyses of the data involving situational factors such as participation structure and storytelling initiation, and content issues, namely favourable (storyable and tellable) topics. These analyses were judged to be an indispensable preparatory

⁶ The data (stories and statistical reports) form an electronic corpus but for reasons of space only a small sample of this corpus will be provided in the Appendix, in addition to the exemplification in the main text.

step towards uncovering the stories' texture. In particular the "situational coding" completed the picture of components of the everyday storytelling events from which the free corpus emerged. Its results in combination with the results of the stories' coding for content provided this study with the first insights into the sociocultural constraints in operation in MG narrative construction. The findings which brought to the fore such constraints are as follows:

- a. Audience participation is minimal and it in any case does not promote storytelling re-drafting.
- b. There is a "male" entitlement in storytelling initiation and in particular in the initiation of stories which involve "kodres" (ie competitions, conflicts). By contrast, women's typical stories relate "gaffes".
- c. The most storyable theme involves the family life framework, while tellability in SC revolves around the childhood-theme which is obviously shaped by addressee-considerations.

Subsequently, the discussion moved to the presentation of stanza analysis and highpoint analysis which constitute the two analytic methods selected for operationalising binding, unfolding and evaluating in the data at hand. The first findings emerging from the application of the highpoint analysis concerned the choice of structural patterns in SA vs SC. In particular, SA were found to favour the climactic patterns significantly more than SC which exhibited a predilection for stories that lack peak points and that present a great deal of static description rather than dynamic action (moment-in-time stories). These findings will be gradually put into perspective as the picture of the stories' binding, unfolding and evaluating will be unravelled.

	Data	Elicitation mode	Analysis	Subjects	Setting	Audience	Topic	Relation of interactants
Basic Corpus	40 oral personal stories	Storytelling prompt	Qualitative and quantitative	50% male, 50% female, 50% young, 50% middle-aged	Subjects' houses and dinner parties	20 stories for adults, 20 stories for children (repeated measures)	Troubles-stories	Intimate
Free Corpus	170 oral personal stories	Unprompted (naturally occurring data)	Qualitative and quantitative: 60 stories (30 for adults - 30 for children) Qualitative only: 110 stories	68 story initiations and deliveries by men, 42 by women, 50% young, 50% middle-aged	Natural settings (e.g. "get-togethers" in houses and cafés, dinner parties etc.)	110 stories for adults, 60 stories for children, Age of children: 8	Any	Intimate
Written Corpus	120 written personal stories	Set task	Qualitative and quantitative: 40 stories (20 for adults - 20 for children) Qualitative only: 80	50% male, 50% female, 50% young, 50% middle-aged	Subjects' homes (40), "NELE" seminars (80)	20 for adults - 20 for children (repeated measures of the basic corpus), 40 for adults - 40 for children (repeated measures)	Troubles-stories (40), Any (80)	Absent addressee
Children's Narratives	90 oral personal stories	"Narration hour" - Peterson & McCabe (1983) method	Qualitative only	Children aged 7-9	Primary schools	Teacher and classmates (40), Researcher and 2-3 classmates (50)	Any	Teacher/researcher -pupils

Figure 1: General Description of the Corpora

Chapter 3

Binding and Unfolding I: The Tripartite Patterning of the Narrativisation of Experience in Modern Greek

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the segmentation procedures that were selected as tools for the operationalisation of binding, unfolding and evaluating in the stories at hand. The first finding of the application of the stanza-analytic segmentation method to the data uncovered an important facet of the binding and unfolding process of MG stories, namely a pervasive patterning of threes that pertains to both micro-and macro-levels of the stories' organisation. Through its persistent repetition at these levels the patterning creates a rhythmic effect or, put it differently, underlies the stories' *poetry* (Bright 1982).

The importance of this discovery lies in the fact that the tripartite patterning forms the frame or the backbone of the texts' build-up onto which specific binding/unfolding devices are mapped as separate but still interrelated pieces of a puzzle. In other words, it is a central component of MG narrative construction whose disclosure casts light on the stories' organisational relations. The patterning also constitutes a constant of narrative communicative style in MG. Thus, unlike what the case is with all other binding/unfolding devices, contextual factors and variables do not affect its use. Instead, it proves to be a narrative-specific device of a normative character which is part of the generic expectations typifying MG narrative construction. In effect, the strong adherence to it points to its contextualised nature in the sense of interrelation with its cultural interpretive context. Hymes suggested (1980: 8 quoted in Woodbury 1985: 166) that the strict patterning of American Indian narratives around key-numbers mirrors shared cultural modes of both thinking (conceptual organisation) and

narrativising (narrative organisation); these depend upon a conception of a "*logic of experience*" or "*rhetoric of action*". By analogy, the discovery of the patterning of threes essentially reveals the strong culture-dependence of the unfolding relations of MG stories.

3.1 Why Number Three?

Scholars of ethnopoetics in Native American discourse have reported a key-role in the whole of society and in its oral tradition for the numbers found to underlie narrative organisation (e.g. Hymes 1977, 1981, Tedlock 1983, 1987, Sherzer 1987). For instance, number four which is the "*pattern number*" in Zuni narratives is "*a sacred number*" in the community "*around which a lot of things revolve*" (Hymes 1982: 126). Comparably, the choice of number three as a pattern number in the data at hand exhibits a strong sociocultural grounding. As Johnstone nicely put it "*three is a key-number for anyone who shares European and American cultural norms*" (1990: 99). This is partly related to the number's centrality in the Christian religion: the Holy Trinity, and the three days between the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus are two of the core doctrines in it. Consequently, number three is a sacred number in the Greek Orthodox culture. Stemming from religion are numerous beliefs and sometimes prejudices in the society revolving around three: e.g. that one has to spit three times and say the word "*ftu*" (onomatopoeia for spitting) three times in order to keep the evil spirits ("the evil eye") away. This belief in the magical qualities of three is apparent in the oral tradition (myths, folktales, folksongs etc) too: any complication in folk tales and songs needs three attempts/three days/three nights etc, on the part of the hero to be resolved. If brothers and/or sisters are the protagonists of folksongs and tales, they are as a rule three or a multiple number of three (e.g. see the famous folksong "*tria pedhia Voliotika*": "three guys from Volos"). Props are also three: e.g. three birds which bring the good or bad news to the protagonists. Proverbs and sayings, too, favour number three: e.g. "*tria pulakia pan psila*" ("three birds fly up the air": idiomatically used to refer to indifferent people), "*mia tu klefti dhio tu klefti tris ke ton epiasame*" (the thief is third time **un**lucky). On the whole, number three has been frequently identified as "a pattern number" in the old European folk tradition as

well, where it is perceived as creating a pattern or a whole compared to numbers "two" or "four" which fail to convey a sense of completeness and are "*merely hints of larger sets*" (idem: 99).

From the above, it follows that the role of number three as an organising element of narrative macro-structure in MG is not unmotivated or accidental, but part of a cultural heritage, which proves to have created an implicit "*web-of-order*" (Hymes 1982: 137) to the narrativisation of experience that embodies "a rhetoric of action".

3.2 Patterns of Three and Narrative Organisation in the Data

3.2.1 Tripartite Line-Manifestations

As suggested in §3.0, the tripartite patterning was brought to the fore by the application of stanza analysis. Specifically, the patterning was found in operation at the level of both lines and stanzas. Its pervasiveness within these units of narrative organisation will be illustrated in the following discussion which will present its most regular manifestations at each unit separately. Starting from line-level, the most predominant manifestation of the patterning was found to be the asyndeton scheme which consists of three elements (most commonly adjectival phrases) in the form of a list: e.g.

(17) a. *dhen adehe ti filaki ti fasaria to vromiko aera tis Athinas*

he couldn't stand **the prison the racket the polluted air** of Athens

Bessi F., BSC

b. *akusa mia dhinati dhiaperastiki adhiakopi foni*

I heard **a loud penetrating continuous** voice

Ilias G., BSA

c. *mu elipse i kathimerini parusia tis ghiaghias to maghirema to hartziliki*

I missed my grandmother's **everyday presence her cooking her pocket money**

Hristina A., BSC

The three elements of the above patterning are most of the times tied together by the relation of paraphrase and/or repetition: e.g.

(18) a. *arhizi ekini i mana mu na klei na odhirete na htipiete*

my poor mom starts **crying shouting mourning**

Hristos H., BSA

b. *itan ena prama me ute steghi ute tavani ute tipota*

it was a thing with **no roof no ceiling no nothing**

Hristos H., BSA

c. *ti na tin pane na tin ferun na tin kanune*

they did **this** and **that** and **the other** (lit: what to take her to bring her to do to her)

Aggeliki C., BSA

d. *ki arhisa na kleo na kleo na kleo*

and I started **crying crying crying**

Evi B., BSC

Repetitions of onomatopoetic instances at line-level also fall into the same tripartite scheme:

(19) a. *ki arhisan na htipane i kabaness **dindan dindan dindan***

and the bells started ringing "**dindan dindan dindan**"

Fotini B., FSC

b. *akughes lei **gang gang gang** to polivolo*

and he says you could hear the machine gun going "**gang gang gang**"

Hristos H., BSA

c. *tis leo mi milisis katholu ke min pis* **ma ma ma**

I tell don't utter a word and don't say "**ma ma ma**"

Ilias G., FSA

d. *htipane tin porta* **tok tok tok**

they knock at the door "**tok tok tok**"

Kiki B., FSC

A noticeable cue to the importance of number three in the data involves the inclusion of certain details at line-level, in particular temporal details: for instance, it is common to find that three days, months or years passed before an incident took place or that the climactic event took place at three o'clock (in the morning or in the afternoon). In our reference story of "**Forty Five Johnnies**" the characters appropriately enough set off for their trip at three o'clock in the afternoon. Such details can be characterised as "*extrathematic*", to borrow Johnstone's term (1990: 91). Their criterial features is that they are not relevant to the story's plot, since they do not re-appear in the plotline after their first mention, and that they constitute new information for the audience. For instance, they are not the type of details that help the audience identify characters already known to them. The significance of the association of extrathematic details with the number three will become evident in §5.1.3. Here it suffices to add that of the total number of extrathematic details (30) associated with a number in the basic and free data, the great majority (22, that is, 73.3%) of them are associated with the number three. Following are examples of such details occurring in the stories' orientation (20a-b), climactic (20c-d) and resolution part (20e-f):

(20) **Orientation Part**

a. *hriastike (o pateras mu) tris meres na teliosi to pighadhi*

it took my dad **three days** to finish the well

Aggeliki K., BSC

b. *itan meta apo tris meres pu tha fevghe i mana mu*

my mom would go on this trip **three days later**

Athina H., BSC

The two extrathematic details above appear in the initial orientation section and do not have any bearing whatsoever on the plotline which follows. The same applies to the details in the examples below which though occurring in the main storyline, their functionality regarding the plot is minimal. This is more evident by the fact that number three could be interchanged with any other number (e.g. one/two/four/five o'clock in example d rather than three o'clock) without this carrying any importance for or suggesting any change to the story's plot:

Climax (Peak)

c. *ton pernune/ vghenun ap tin porta tris*

they take him/ **three men** come out of the door

Hristos H., BSA

d. *ghiro stis tris i ora to mesimeri eftasa sena stavrodhromi...*

around **three o'clock** in the afternoon I reached a crossroads...

Evi B., BSA

Resolution Part

e. *apotelesma itan ghiro stis tris i ora na me afisi se mia periohi poli epikindhini...*

the result was that **around three o'clock** in the morning he left me in a very dangerous area...

Aleka F., BSC

f. *tris meres arghotera mathame oti ton lagho ton ihan vri i ipallili enos super market*

three days later we found out that the hare had been found by some grocery store employees

Bessi F., FSC

3.2.2 Tripartite Stanza-Patterning

The building block of the tripartite patterning at stanza-level involves the making-up of three-line stanzas. These constitute the majority of stanzas in the data (see table 4 in §3.3) and additionally one of the most striking manifestations of the organisational role of the tripartite patterning. The exceptions to the three-line stanza make-up are the stories' abstract and coda since these are normally one line long. To roughly illustrate the above following is a short story chosen as a typical case of tripartite stanza-patterning. The context is a mixed company in an Athenian house before the beginning of a party at New Year's Eve. Most of the people have not arrived yet and the ones who are there are very close friends: the two sisters who organise the party, a female friend of theirs, Takis and Kostas, the two men of the company, and the researcher. Takis and Kostas, both being fans of bike-riding, start relating adventurous incidents from their summer holidays with their bikes. As part of this storytelling session, Takis delivers the following story:¹

(21) *Abstract (st. 1)*

*akuste to allo to kufo me ton Kosta
tora/*

now listen to this one with Kosta (lit: to this "deaf" one, ie extraordinary, exciting, interesting happening)

*2. eki pighename sto dhromo kapu stin
Ipiro/ brosta o Hristos brostaris piso o
Kostas ke telefteos eghe/ kratagha ta
bosika/*

2. we were riding somewhere in Ipiros/ Hristos in front the leader (lit: the "front"-man: language game with *brosta*: in front and *brostaris*: he who is in front) Kostas behind and me last/ I played it chaperon (in the Greek text, a highly idiomatic phrase forming a culture-specific "joke")

¹ To keep the style of the original text as much as possible, onomatopoeias are not translated in the story as in most examples of this thesis.

3. *ki eki pu pighename pighename
halara re pedhi mu/ apolamavaname to
topio/ epistrofi sti mama fisi as pume
xeris/*

4. *aristera ligho gremos ke paralia
kato Pargha/ dhexia kati vrahakia/ ke
sto dhromo tora xeris ena hadaki psilo
meghalo/*

5. *eki lipon pu pighename kanonika sto
dhromo vlepo ena bemve tu kosta to
bemve se kapia fasi ke fevgghi ap to
dhromo aerato/ milame aerato/ pai me
oghdoda hiliometra e/*

6. *pap pai ke beni sto hadaki kanonika
kanonikotata/ ke meta apo ligho skoni
xeris halikia piso/ ke dhen pefti o
Kostas kato/*

*[parenthesi dhen ipes oti o Kostas itan
para poli kalos odhighos ke borese na
kratisi ti mihani sto dhromo]
(Interruption from Kostas)*

7. *ne para poli kalos odhighos/ isos
itan ke ligho kolofardhos/ dhen xerume
to exetazume akoma/*

8. *lipon se kapia fasi vlepume as pume
ton Kosta/ gap kavallai to pezulaki/
bap xerete i mihani kodepse na spasi
sti mesi as pume/*

9. *egho edaxi na mi boro na odhighiso
apo to ghelio/ na pigheni i mihani
aristera dhexia/ ha ha hu eggo ha ha
hu ha ha hu/*

10. *ke ton plisiazo as pume ke vlepo*

3. and as we were driving we were sort
of laid back you know/ we enjoyed the
countryside/ "return to mother nature"
that kind of thing/

4. on the left cliffs and down in the
background Parga beach/ on the right a
few rocks/ and now on the road a big
ditch/

5. so as we were driving I suddenly see
a BMW bike on the road Kosta's
BMW and goes off the road swiftly
(lit: like air)/ we are talking about it
going off "like air"/ and it goes at sixty
miles right/

6. and it goes "pap" and falls into the
ditch regular (lit: regular most regular)/
and soon after dust gravel you know
(ell. flying up)/ and Kostas does not
fall off/

[mind you (lit: parenthesis) you didn't
mention that Kostas (talking about
himself) was a very very good driver
and managed to keep the bike on the
road] (Interruption from Kostas)

7. (ironically said) yes very very good
driver indeed/ may be he was a bit
fluky too/ we don't know about that
we're still working on it/

8. so at some point we see Kostas/
"gap" he hits the streambarrier/ "bap"
the bike broke in two you know/

9. I (emphatic) not being able to drive
because I was laughing so hard/ the
bike going here and there/ me (going)
"ha ha hu ha ha hu ha ha hu"/ it broke
in two/

10. and I approach him you know only

*afto as pume to fovero pu vlepo kathe
fora/ otan as pume o Kostas ta hi dhi
ola/ otan dhen perni allo/*

*11. ton plisiazō ke vlepo ti/ mesa apo
to kranos to amihano hamoghelo tu
Kosta pu piani olo to kranos apo dho
mehri eki/ ke ta matia tu ta
ghurlomena etima na petahtun ke na
kollisun sto kapaki tu kranus na me
kitazun me aporia/*

*12. tu kunao to kefali/ to mutzono/
ghirnai ki aftos sigatavatika to kefali
sa na lei ti malakia pu kana/*

*13. ke telos padon meta apo merika
metra stamatame/ ghia na ghelaso
egho/ eghe dhe borusa na kratitho/*

*14. eki mas epexighise as pume ke ti
eghine/ itan fovero/ pighe na ftiaxi ta
pragmata ki aferethike/*

*15. tora to leme ke ghelame/ alla itan
sovaro/ tha boruse na hi pesi na hi
spasi kana podhari na trehume/*

to see this amazing thing that I see
every time/ you know when Kostas
"has seen it all"/ when he can take no
more/

11. I approach him and what do I see/
inside the helmet Kostas' wide smile of
embarrassment extending from here to
here (showing)/ and his eyes wide-open
ready to pop out onto the helmet
looking at me dumbfounded/

12. I nod at him/ I "mutzono" (greek
insulting gesture) him/ and he turns to
me with his tail between his legs like
saying how stupid I can be/

13. and anyway a few metres later we
stop/ because I needed to laugh/ I just
couldn't help myself/

14. and there he explained what
happened you know/ it was amazing/
he just tried to tie down the luggage
and forgot himself/

15. now we can talk about it and
laugh/ but it was really serious/ he
could have fallen off and hurt himself
or break a leg or something/

The story comprises 15 stanzas altogether. Excluding the initial prefacing phrase which functions as the story's abstract, the rest of the stanzas are patterned in threes. Additionally, their interrelations with respect to the building-up of the story's macro-organisation are also patterned in threes. The tripartite schemes of narrative organisation in the data which do not work only at the level of individual stanzas but regulate the unfolding function at the higher level of narrative parts as well will be discussed in §3.5. Here, it suffices to illustrate their pervasiveness with regard to the above story. Specifically, there are twelve stanzas altogether with the exclusion of stanza 7, which is directly related to the story's interruption from Kostas, and of the

two framing stanzas (1 and 15). These stanzas form tripartite schemes for building up the story's narrative parts: three stanzas (2-5) make up the story's orientation section and another three the story's climax (5, 6 and 8). Finally stanzas 9-14 which encode the postclimactic section (ie results/evaluations of the climactic action and resolution) exhibit an embedded tripartite patterning by means of stanzas 10-12 that form an "event-schema".

The story also illustrates how organisationally the unity and autonomy of theme and perspective in three-line stanzas is not realised by means of a standardised patterning of content as was for instance reported about the three-line stanzas of the Japanese personal narratives denoting orientation, act and outcome (Minami & McCabe 1991: 577-601). In fact, the content combinations and links among the three lines of a stanza met in the data are numerous and variable. For instance, a three line stanza can be homogeneous in terms of the nature of the narrative comments to which each line belongs, i.e. three background comments (e.g. see stanzas 2, 3, 4, above), three outcomes/results (resolutions: e.g. stanza 9 above), three acts (e.g. stanza 5 above); or more commonly it can be a nice blend of action and orientation/ background comments (e.g. stanza 13), action and outcome (e.g. stanza 6), action and evaluation, orientation-action-outcome etc. On the whole, in cases of blend of narrative comments, the preferable direction of stanza organisation is from action to background comment and back to action within the same or immediately following stanza, rather than from background comment to action. The device is very effective especially pre-climactically in that the demarcation of a stanza by means of an action line succeeds in pushing the plot forward; subsequently, the insertion of a comment decelerates the narrative motion and creates suspense. Some of the ways in which different categories of narrative comments are patterned within three-line stanzas are illustrated below:

(22) a. **Orientation**

*stin avli imaste sto pano meros tu horiu to spiti/ eghe kathomuna mazi
me ton patera mu/ itane proi proi ora ghia dhrosial*

at the yard... well the house was at the upper part of the village/ I was

sitting outside with my father/ it was early in the morning when it's cool/

Athina H., BSA

b. Evaluation

*nomizo oti afto itan to pio traghiko neo/ to pio ashimo to pio traghiko
neo pu eho akusi apo tote pu thimame ton eafto mu/ ki ime sighuri oti
tha mu ine para poli dhiskolo na to afiso piso mul*

I think that this was the most tragic news/ (it was) the saddest the most tragic news I've ever heard/ and I'm sure that it's going to be really difficult for me to leave it behind/

Alexandra B., FSA

c. Outcome (Local Results of Action)

opos epese kato aaa evale foni/ arhise na melaniazi/ ehase tis esthisistis/

as she fell down she gave an aaah/ she started turning blue/ she became unconscious/

Thomas H., BSA

d. Action

*pame eki pera/ ke pai ke piani o pateras mu mia magura eki/ ke tin
piani apo to lemo ti ghidha ke tin travaghel*

we went there/ and my dad goes and takes a stick/ and he grabs the goat from the neck and pulls her/

Sofia I., FSA

Examples 23a,b below illustrate the case of three-line stanzas which comprise three micro-actions that constitute an event-schema:

(23) a. *opote ghirnai/ perni fora/ ke tsap pidhai ton frahti/*

and so he (ell. for "the dog") turns round/ makes a bounce/ and "tsap" jumps over the fence/

Antonis M., BSA

b. *xipnisame to proi/ mazepsame tis valitses/ bam sto aftokinito/*

we woke up in the morning/ packed our things/ got into the car (lit:
"bam" into the car/

Ilias G., FSA

The micro-level instantiation of the above technique within a single line is as follows:
a single action is broken up into three microactions in the same line presumably for
being in accordance with the MG tripartite "rhetoric of action": e.g.

ke pianun ke dhimosievun ke lene

and they write... (lit: and they take and publish and say)

Fotula G., FSC

Stanza-formative patterns of action blended with non-action narrative comments are
more popular in the data compared to homogeneous stanza-formations such as the
ones in 22 (a-d) and 23 (a-b) above:

c. Action-Outcome-Evaluation

piano ki eghe kana dhio/ epese xilo/ a panaghia mu eghine kakol

and I grab a couple of them/ I beat them up so much/ oh my god what
a mess it was/

Panaghos B., FSA

d. Action-Background Comment

*... sto telos tin teleftea mera perno
tilefono ke mu lene/ iha kanonisi eghe/
iha kathisterisi to taxidhi pu tha fevgha
pano ghiati ipologhiza afu tha anevi o
babas me ti mama/ tha pame me to
aftokinito aneta/*

... at the end on the last day I call them
and they tell me/ (suspension of the
action for insertion of background
comments) I had arranged everything
you know/ I had delayed my trip cause
I counted on me going up there with
mum and dad/ going by car
comfortably you know/

opote mu lene tin teleftea mera...

(back to the climactic onset) so they
tell me on the last day...

Dinos G., FSA

*e. perno to pedhi ke vghenume mia volta mehri ta maghazia/ etsi mia
volta pighame ghia na xekurasti/ (insertion of background information)
o thios su vlepis itan stin platia/*

I take the child with me and go for a walk/ we just went to the shops
for her to relax a bit/ (insertion of background information) you see
your uncle was at the square/

Maria H., FSC

The only regular organisational three-line stanza-patterning emerging in the data will
is based on the co-operation of devices such as tense shift and instances of direct
speech which have not been discussed yet; it will thus be dealt with later in this thesis
(see ch 6).

3.2.2.1 Reiteration Devices and Stanza-Organisation

As is frequently the case at line-level too, the tripartite patterning at stanza-level very
commonly takes the form of a paraphrastic asyndeton scheme with or without partial
repetition. From now on, patterns involving a form of repetition or paraphrase will be
conveniently referred to as *reiteration patterns or devices* (for a full typology and
discussion see ch 6). Reiteration devices when aligned with tripartite patterns as
stanza-organisational devices either form a stanza on their own (stanzas 24b, 25b, 26c
below) or are embedded within a stanza (24c, 24d, 26b, underlined): e.g.

(24) *st.a ... ke tis ipe tis manas mu i
Eleni pethane/ tipota allo/*

st.a. ... and he told my mother Eleni is
dead/ nothing else/

*b. tora katalavenis oti **mugathikame/
kanenas dhe milaghe katholu/
kanenas dhen boruse na vghali ute
foni katholu/***

b. now you understand that **we were
dumbfounded/ nobody could speak/
nobody had anything to say/**

c. klinume ta parathira mesa sto spiti/

c. we close the windows/ they take me

*me pernun emena agalia/ me filaghane
me filaghane ke dhe milaghane/*

*d. isos sigratiotan na mi metadhosune
ton pono/ ghiati xerane poso dhemeni
imuna eghe me tin Eleni/ para poli
dhemeni me tin Eleni/ tromera dhemeni
su leo/*

*in their arms/ they kissed me they
kissed me they kissed me/*

*d. they probably restrained themselves
from showing the pain/ 'cos they knew
how attached I was to Eleni/ very
much attached to Eleni/ I mean really
attached/*

Athina H., BSA

*(25) a. ... pighan ki irthan merikes
fores/ ki eferan kapia pedhia exo/*

*b. alla apo ta pedhia pu evghalan exo
to ena pedhi itan anesthito/ dhen to
evlepes na hi tis esthis tu/ ihe hasi to
hroma tu edelos katakitrino/*

*c. e prospathisan na tu dhosun tis
protes voithies/ tu edhosan to fili tis
zois...*

*a.... they went back and forth for
several times/ and brought some kids
out of the sea/*

*b. but **one of the children** that was
taken out of the sea **was unconscious/**
he "had lost his colour" completely/
he had gone pale/*

*c. well they tried to give him the first
aids/ they gave him the kiss of life...*

Vivi P., BSC

*(26) a. ... arhisa ki eghe na kurazome
na me ponai to podhi mu/ iha idhi
perpatisi ke polles ores/ ke se kapia
stighmi pleon tus ehasa telios/*

*b. ke otan perpatodas katafera na ftaso
se ena stavrodhromi pu pisteva oti tha
vro ta pedhia/ dhe vrika kanenan/ dhen
ipirhe kanenas/ imuna telios moni mu
se ekino to stavrodhromi/*

*c. dhen petaghan pulia/ dhen ipirhan
zoa/ dhen ipirhe tipota/*

*a. ... and I started getting tired and
hurting/ I'd walked for very long/ and
at some point I completely lost them/*

*b. and when I managed to reach a
crossroads at which I thought I'd find
the guys from the team/ I didn't find
anybody/ there was nobody there/ I
was completely alone at this
crossroads/*

*c. **there were no birds flying/ there**
were no animals/ there was nothing/*

Evi B., BSA

Another instance of a reiteration device in a three line stanza involves the repetition of the first line in the third line after the interference of a second line whose function

is to add a background comment, exemplify, elaborate on or paraphrase the first line:

(27) a. *en to metaxi epeze mia poli orea orhistra/ dhiladhi zodani
orhistra/itane poli orea orhistra/*

and **there was a very nice band playing/** it was live/ **it was a very
nice band/**

Kostas G., FSA

b. *mia mera ton piasane/ apo dho to ferane apo ki to ferane/ ton
pianune/*

one day **they caught him/** they took on this way they took on that
way/ **they catch him/**

Tula B., FSA

c. *me vazi lipon i mana mu eki sto tzami kato pu plename ta piata/ eki
vazame zesto nero/ eki ta plename ta piata/*

so my mother puts me there by the window where **we were washing
the plates/** we had hot water there/ **we were washing the plates there/**

Sofia I., FSA

The organisational power of tripartite patterns intensified by reiteration devices very frequently exceeds the limits of a stanza and creates complex forms of inter-stanza patterning throughout the story (see ch 6). A simpler case which will be illustrated here involves the alignment of two successive stanzas so that they are perceived as being the product of two related three-part patterns. This is achieved by means of the reiteration devices that connect them so that the second stanza appears to intensify, paraphrase, elaborate on etc the first stanza:

(28) a. *ela dho re Kostaki mu lei/ pes
s'ekino to Thanasi na mi mu klepsi ta
ghidhia/ na afisi kato ta ghidhia mu
ghiati tha tu spaso to kefali/*

he tells me come here Kostakis/ tell
Thanasis **not to steal my goats/ he
should leave my goats alone** 'cos I'll
kick his head in/

*tu leo ba esena ta ghidhia dhen ta
perni esena barba Ghianni/ dhen ta
perni ta ghidhia/ sto ipoghrafo oti*

I tell him **no way will he bother your
goats** *barba-Ghiannis* (term used for
addressing older people)/ **he won't**

dhen ta perni/

**take the goats/ I guarantee he won't
take them/**

Kostas H., FSA

As can be seen above, the two three-line stanzas of the dialogic exchange are brought together by reiteration devices (bold). In a similar vein, in the examples below the second three-line stanza (bold) paraphrases the first:

b. *pai Ghianni tu leo/ aftes ine sighura
tu leo pornes/ dhen iparhi periptosi/*

I am telling you Ghiannis I tell him/ I
am dead certain that they're whores/
there is no other way/

*ine epi pliromis na pume/ dhen
dhikeologhite tu leo allios na ghirnane
mones tus dhio ghinekes/ ine sighura
tetio prama/*

**they do it for money know what I
mean/ how do you explain two
women walking on the streets alone/
they must be/**

Panaghiotis G., FSA

c. *kala aftos xeris ehi to blokaki ton
epitaghon as pume/ dhen ehi lefta/ ehi
to blokaki/*

well you know "he's got the
chequebook" (i.e. he's loaded)/ he
hasn't got cash/ he's got the
chequebook/

*ehi to blokaki ke kovi/ etsi plironi o
Dhimitrakis/ to blokaki ton epitaghon/*

**he's got the chequebook and fills it
in/ this is how little Dhimitris pays/
he's got the chequebook/**

Panaghiotis G., FSA

3.2.2.2 Alliances of Patterns of Threes and Stanza-Organisation

A more complex case of tripartite patterning intensified by reiteration devices involves the alliance of number three with number four and less commonly five. In other words, this case of stanza-formation results in stanzas with four or five lines instead of three. The tendency of narrative "pattern numbers" to "ally" with other numbers was reported about American Indian narratives too. Hymes (1982: 131) suggested that the numbers found to underlie the organisation of the narratives of the two

communities that he examined, generally set the overall pattern and then match with another number: in Zuni narratives four matches with two and in Chinookan five matches with three.

In the data, the alliances of three with four or five create patterns which are strongly perceived as being formed on the basis of the three-part pattern. To begin with patterns of fours, they are normally triggered by rhetorical relations of listing, elaboration, specification, exemplification etc. In these essentially binary relations the tripartite patterning occurs in the second part of the relation which presents itself in a set of three. Typical cases of how this can be done are when a general statement (underlined in 29a,b,c below) is followed by three elaborating or exemplifying lines (bold) or when a macro-action (underlined in 29d below) is broken up into three micro-actions (bold). This last case employs the technique of *forestalling and nesting*, that is, of employing a general reference to an action and then "nesting" more specific activities into it; Bamberg & Marchman (1991: 283) argued that this is a major strategy for instantiating a theme in narrative: e.g.

(29) a. ihan sterepsi ta dhakria mu/ dhiladhi dhen borusa/ dhen ipirhe
kanena sinesthima/ dhen esthanomuna tipota/

I had cried my eyes out/ in other words I couldn't.../ there was no
feeling left/ I couldn't feel a thing/

Katerina G., FSA

b. alla ekini i ghiorti mu hi mini axehasti/ ta pedhakia pu ekanan ta
traghudhakia/ ola afta ta piimatakia pu ipan/ oli afti i ghonis pu
irthan/

but this celebration has been unforgettable for me/ the children who
sang the songs/ all these poems that they recited/ all these parents
who came/

Ghiorghia K., FSC

c. xerame omos oti o protos pu tha sinadusame teliose/ tha mas fai ta
lefta/ tha mas dhosi narkotika/ tha mas sfaxi/

but we knew that with the first person we'd meet in the street that was
it/ he'll take all our money/ he'll sell us drugs/ he'll kill us/

Panaghiotis G., FSA
(From the same story as 28b above)

d. *anapsan lipon to fanaraki/ vrikan dhiladhi ladhi/ evalan to ladhi*
mesa/ ke anapsan to fitili/

so they lit the lamp/ in other words they found paraffin/ they put
the paraffin in/ and they lit the wick/

Fotini B., FSC

Similar are the cases of patterns of five. There, too, the embedding of a pattern of three is recognisable. For instance, the first line of the stanza in 30a below is explicated by three lines and then repeated to intensify the argument:

(30) a. *ke ghenika itan ap tis meres pu ha perasi para poli meghalo*
fovo ki aghonia/ dhen iha kanena na me voithisi/ elipe ki o pateras
mu/ dhe mu he xanasimvi kapios anthropos dhikos mu na hi pathi
kati xafnika/ ki etsi itan mia mera pu perasa para poli dhiskola ke
dhisarestal

and on the whole it was one of the days that I had gone through great fear and anxiety/ **there was noone to help me/ my dad was away/ it had never happened to me that someone close to me had suddenly had an accident/** and so it was a day when I had a very and unpleasant time/

Aggeliki K., BSA

b. *ti na kano ki eghe tora/ iha ena sakaki/ piano ta makaronia na*
pume mazi me ton kima/ ta rihno mes stin tsepi/ ke perasa me to
piato na pume etsi exo/

what could I do "now"/ I had a jacket/ **I take the spaghetti with the minced meat/ I drop it all into my pocket/ and I walked out with the plate like that/**

Labros H., FSC

In example 30b above the three-part pattern is framed by a phrase (*ti na kano ki eghe*

tora: what could I do now) which presents the standard function of a stanza demarcation signal in the data (see §4.4.1) and by a background comment (*iha ena sakaki*: I had a jacket).

To sum up, stanza-organisation in the data presents a pervasive pattern of threes which in certain cases matches with and forms an integral part of patterns of four and five. This "alignment" is as a rule fortified by reiteration devices. A final instance of a stanza-organisational tripartite patterning intensified by reiteration devices is what will be called here the "*three characters strategy*": this involves focusing on three characters and their course of actions or emotive reactions that normally result from the peak events. This tripartite scheme as a rule exhibits explicit referential choices (for details see §4.8.6):

(31) a. *aftos etrehe ke kornarize/ eghe kratagha ti Vivi/ i mama su
travaghe ta mallia tis ki ekleghe as pume/...*

he was running and honking/ I was holding Vivi in my arms/ your
mum was pulling at her hair and crying/...

Thomas H., FSC

b. *o babas mu ine sto krevati imithanis/ i mama ston kosmo tis/ eghe
ta pezo/...*

my dad is in bed half-dead/ my mum is out of touch/ I go crazy/...

Alexandra B., BSA

The scheme's common realisation through stereotypical phrases such as the one in example 31c below echoes well-known Greek folksongs and folktales:

c. *katevenume kato ki arhizume na ton kinighame ke i tris/ brosta i
mitera mu piso eghe ke pio piso i adherfi mu/*

we come down and start chasing him/ **my mother in front me behind
and my sister further back** (lit: in front my mother, behind me and
more behind my sister)

Bessi F., FSC

It is typical in folksongs that when three related characters are involved in a course of actions they are mentioned hierarchically from the first and oldest to the last and youngest. This is the case in the above example where the order is: mother-narrator (older than her sister)-sister.

The discussion above showed how indispensable the tripartite patterning is as an element of stanza-organisation by looking into a range of the commonest more or less explicit and overt forms that it takes. The last instance of tripartite patterning that will be presented here owes its significance to the fact that it is clearly the product of an attempt to create a tripartite scheme "against all odds". This happens in cases in which the third element is nothing more but a filler which can be translated into English as "that kind of thing", "stuff like that", "this and that" etc; its sole function is to act as the third part in a pattern that would sound incomplete without it. It can be argued that such cases illustrate the narrators' subconscious need to observe the "beat" of the segments of threes:

(32) a. *ton prokalusa/ horeva/ tetia pramata/*

I provoked him/ I danced/ that kind of thing/

Antonis M., BSC

b. *ke me apasholisane i dhiki mu/ ela na se dhume/ aston Gorbi tora/ ke kati tetia/*

and my parents delayed me/ come and let's have a look at you/ don't worry about Gorbi/ and that kind of thing/

Dimitris V., FSC

c. *posi ora kaname na pame sto banio/ na tu rixume nero/ na aftosume/*

how long it took us to get to the bathroom/ to pour water over her/ to do that sort of stuff/

Thomas H., FSC

d. *imaste oli kataharumeni oti teliose ti dhulia/ ke dhen kurazete pia/*

ke afta/

and we were all happy **that he had finished the job/ and that he doesn't exhaust himself any more/ and that kind of thing/**

Aggeliki K., BSA

3.2.3 Tripartite Schemes as Enhancers of the Evaluative Functioning

At a general level, the pervasive tripartite patterning as the backbone of the act of unfolding is in itself an indispensable component of the stories' tellability due to its intrinsic relation to cultural "ways of telling" and conceptions of the rhetoric of narrative action. In addition though, there are specific manifestations of the tripartite schemes which align with evaluative devices in order to intensify their effect. Their most prominent instance is the tripartite patterning fortified by reiteration devices (see §3.2.2.1 and §3.2.2.2 above). The evaluative function of reiteration devices in the data will be discussed in detail elsewhere (chs 5 and 6). Here it suffices to stress the argument frequently put forward in the literature that their forms, extent of use and function exhibit a high culture-specificity (see Tannen 1987: 577-79). To mention only one instance of cultural patterning of repeating strategies, shaping reiteration in the form of paraphrastic doubling has been found to act as a powerful persuasion strategy in Arabic expository discourse (see Johnstone 1983, 1987).

In a similar vein, it can be argued that the culture-specific form of reiteration devices in the data is the tripartite patterning; as a result, this realisation of reiteration devices in a culturally determined and powerful mode enhances their evaluative function. The same applies to the association of details with the number three. Tannen claimed that the use of details in both natural and literary narrative is a meaningful choice which acts as a major involvement strategy on the grounds that

the invoking of details - specific, concrete, familiar- makes it possible for an individual to recall and a hearer to recreate a scene in which people are in relation to each other and to objects in the world

1989: 166

As will be discussed in ch 5, details function as an evaluative device which is directly connected to culturally preferred ways of telling. If this is combined with the view that each act of narrating is an active reconstruction or reconstitution of the past (see §1.6.3), it is legitimate to suggest that details can be constructed and incorporated in a narrative for evaluative reasons. This means that their use does not necessarily imply their factuality. This seems to be the case with the details that are associated with the number three. There is something more to this co-occurrence than pure memory or accidental choice: number three provides the culture-specific "garment" which enhances the evaluative power of details.

3.2.4 Patterns of Three in Characters' Speech

As expected, patterns of three are not only met in the non-reported text of the stories. Instances of reported text (here covering only direct speech and dialogues) which are quite frequent in the data (see ch 6) follow the same patterning. The forms that the three-part patterns present at the level of the reported line and stanza are the same as the ones discussed so far for the lines and stanzas of the non-reported text. For instance, the pervasive pattern of organisation, in cases that an instance of direct speech exceeds one line, is that of three lines: e.g.

(33) a. *trexe tis leo tis Vivis/ pai tosi ora/ to faghito ehi ghini*
karvunol

I tell Vivi **run/ it's been too long/ the food has been burnt/**

Maria B., FSC

b. *lei kitaxte na dhite/ ehi pesi ena aeroplano/ dhen xerume omos pu*
pos pios/

he says **listen to that/ an airplane has crushed/ but we don't know**
where how who/

Alexandra B., FSA

It is also common to find reiteration devices corroborating the tripartite line-

organisation: e.g.

c. *ki emis na leme/ ke dhen ine kala i kiria Tula ke kati ehi ke kati epathe/*

and we were saying/ (and) Mrs Tula is not well (and) she is feeling bad and she has a problem/

Ghiannis B., FSC

d. *arhisan oli na dhinun dhiafores simvules/ ohi kante afto ohi kante ekino ohi kante tallo/*

they all started giving her advice/ (no) do this (no) do that (no) do the other/

Aggeliki K., BSA

The same goes for the tripartite stanza-organisation:

e. *mu lei pu isuna/ pu ihes pai/ pu ihes afisi ta provata monaha/*

he tells me where have you been/ where have you gone/ where have you left the sheep alone/

Ilias H., FSA

f. *egho na tu leo dhen xeris/ afu dhen xeris ti xeris/ ti xeris/*

and I was telling him you don't know/ since you don't know what you know/ what do you know/

Hariklia V., FSC

However, in addition to the tripartite patterns that are common to reported and non-reported texts, there are instances of tripartite schemes unique to reported texts: these are based on the quotative verbs and their use creates rhythmic effects which are perceived only when hearing the story. One case of how the verb "*leo*" (by far the most common reporting verb which has the double meaning of say and think: see ch 6) can be used for such purposes is its repetition in the same line where, acting as the third element, ensures the completion of the rhythm that the three-part patterning

entails: e.g.

(34) a. *lei sighnomi lei/ imaste apo ton OTE*

he says I'm sorry **he says/** we work in the Telecom

Fotula G., FSA

b. *lei dhiavolopedha lei*

he says you bumps **he says**

Sofia I., FSA

At the level of three line-stanzas the analogous effect is achieved through the (symmetrical) repetition of the verb at the beginning (d below) or at the end (e below) of each of the three lines: e.g.

d. *leo apo ton OTE/ leo tora o Takis theli sindhesi/ leo malista/*

I say (did you say you are) from the Telecom/ **I say** (to myself) Takis wants to be connected now/ **I say** yes speaking/...

... *leo dhe mu lete se ti sas exipireti afto/ lei ghia na sas to zitame mas exipireti/ leo to kalodhio pu dhini o OTE/*

I say can't you tell me what purpose this question serves/ **he says** since we're asking it it serves a purpose (lit: elliptical structure)/ **I say** (it's) the cord that the Telecom gives/

Fotini G., FSA

In the second tripartite scheme of this example (I say can't you tell me... gives), the same rhythmic effect is achieved within a three-line dialogic exchange, which is another common pattern in the data.

e. *etsi ki etsi tus leo/ afto epatha tus leo/ dhen eho tipota tus leo/*

so and so **I tell them/** this is what happened **I tell them/** I'm alright **I tell them/...**

... pos to pathes esi mu lei/ egho se vlepo edho mu lei/ etsi ki etsi mu lei/

how did this happen to you **he tells me/** I see you are fine **he tells me/**
so and so **he tells me/...**

Panaghos B., FSA

3.2.5 Patterns of Threes at a Higher Level: Building up Narrative Parts

As already suggested, the tripartite patterning pertains to the higher level of narrative organisation as well, that is, to the level of interrelated stanzas which make up narrative parts. This section will discuss the most regular and common manifestations of the patterning at the highest level of global narrative production. In relatively short and single-episode narratives the prototypical form of tripartite patterning involves the building up of a complicating action with three stanzas or with three-stanza patterns embedded in it: e.g.

(35) *ase pia me tus taxitzidhes/ egho
ime me tus taxitzidhes pos na to po/*

... and not to mention the taxi-drivers/
I am with the taxi-drivers how can I
put it/

*paradhighma iha pari enan mia mera
apo tin Kipseli/ ki ithela na pao Irodhu
tu Attiku/ eki apo kato apo to Irodhio/*

for example one day I'd taken one
from Kipseli/ and he wanted to go to
Irodhu Attiku/ somewhere in the area
of Irodhio/

Onset of CA

*a. lipon ke kathos plisiazane eki pera
lei ah/ ah ke vazi to heri sto buti mu/*

a. and as we were almost getting there
he (ie the taxi-driver) goes "ah"/ ah he
goes/ and he puts his hand on my leg/

*b. ke ise oreo aghoraki/ ke ghiati dhen
pame sto Likavitto/ ke pu tha pas
Irodhio/ (he he)*

b. and you are such a cute boy/ and
what about going to Likavitos
(Athenian hill, commonly serving as
lovers' alley) together/ and why would
you want to go to Irodhio/

*c. ke na arhisi ta ponira hamoghela/ ke
na mu paspatevi to buti/ ke na me ehi
strimoxi kanonika/*

c. and he starts giving me funny
smiles/ and feeling up my thigh/ and
he'd got me well cornered/

*d. eghe sok/ hrats to hirofreno/ ke
ghirizi etsi sti Dhionisiu Aeropaghitu to
taxi pros ta piso/*

*e. anighe tin porta/ vgheno exo astrapi/
dhino ke mia dhinati stin porta/*

f. ke meta satire/ pornoghere/ vromere/

d. I (ellipsis of "was") shocked)/
"hrats" the clutch (ellipsis for "I grab
the clutch")/ and the car goes into
Dhionisiu Aeropaghitu street like this
(showing)/

e. I open the door/ I come out like the
wind/ I slam the door like that/

f. and then (ell: "I go") you pervert/
you sick and dirty old man/
(he he)

Dionysis G., FSA

In the above short ending at the high-point story, the two characters' interaction is arranged in three-part segments. The taxi-driver's verbal and non-verbal assault on the narrator extends in three three-line stanzas (35a,b,c), while the latter's verbal and non-verbal reaction is also realised in three three-line stanzas (d, e, f). In this way, number three underlies the symmetry of the story's organisation.

Multi-episode narratives exhibit more complex and variable forms of tripartite patterns. They commonly use them for all structural parts except for the abstract and coda. For instance, multi-peak narratives can present peaks with three-stanzas or embedded patterns of three. Similarly, multi-episodic narratives with more than one turning point employ three stanzas for the complication of each turning point (turn) and/ or its evaluation and resolution or embedded patterns of three in their different narrative parts. On the whole, the forms of plotting tripartite patterns in the narratives are very commonly intricate and variable. This can be shown with reference to **example 16**, namely the story of "**Forty Five Johnnies**". The story's CA starts off with a set of three stanzas which are tied together by the characters' decision to set off for the wedding at three o'clock in the afternoon. The next three stanzas make up an event-schema in that they encapsulate the first complication on the way to the wedding when reaching the "tricky curve". Following is yet another embedded tripartite scheme of stanzas encoding the child's crossing the road and the climactic event of his

accident. Just before the story's second climax, a set of three stanzas encapsulates the characters' verbal confrontation. The resolution of this second climax is also encoded in three stanzas. In a similar vein, the part of the CA at the location of the Health Centre is built by means of nested tripartite event-schemas: the first involves George's anger which the narrator and her husband try to suppress, while the second involves the verbal confrontations taking place outside the Health Centre. Finally, the scene of reconciliation at the child's house in the story's resolution part is also made up of three stanzas.

On the whole, all crucial choices of plot development in the data are guided by the principles of the tripartite patterning. These underlie the power that the presentation of a complication three times before it is resolved or before it reaches its climax involves. This form of plotting the narration is particularly predominant in multiple-plan application stories which are essentially three-plan application stories. It is common for the narrator to present himself in a situation in which the application of three plans or three attempts of the same plan are needed before the complication is successfully dealt with. For instance, in a story about an accident that the narrator's daughter had, it is only after three attempts take place that she starts recovering: initially it is the narrator that tries to resolve the situation to no avail; then he asks for his wife's help who is not successful either, and then he goes to the neighbour which constitutes his third attempt and the story's climax. After the third attempt the complication is led to its resolution.

In another story about a "military" wedding ceremony where the custom is that the honour guard delay the exit of the newlyweds by assigning them tasks, the newly married couple make three non-successful attempts to come out of the church and it is only after that point that the story is led to its resolution:

(36) *1st non-successful attempt*
ftanune sto telos/ ghiriste piso tora tus
lene o telfteos sti ghrammi/ ghirna
ghiro ghiro ke filise olus tus

they come to the end (of the guard)/
now go back the last one tells them/ go
back and kiss your colleagues one by

*sinadherfus su/ ki esi ap tin alli meria
tis lei tis nifis/*

*afu tus filisane olus ftanune brosta
pali/ ghirisane ston idhio brosta/ eki
ston proto pu evghene apo tin ekklisia/*

2nd non-successful attempt

*tu lei na filisis ti nifi dheka fores/
ena dhio tria tessera pede exi epta
okto/ ennea ennea ennea/*

(he he)

*meta prohorisane kaboso ftanune stin
porta/ telefteos itane o Spiros ekinos o
magas o pireotis/ ton xeris to Spiro/*

*[Spiros pios ine o Spiros/ enas kodulis
pahulos?/]*

*ohi psilos kaloftiaghmenos oreo pedhi/
egho elegha oti ta meghalitera
kapsonia tha ta kani o Spiros/ etsi mu
he mini i ediposi/ dhen xero ghiati isos
epidhi ton xero oti ine magas pireotis/*

**3rd non-successful attempt by which
the complication reaches its climax**
*alla ston protefteo pu ftasane/ itane
piso o Vasilakis me politika/ ki ihe mia
sampania/*

*ston protefteo pu ftasane/ stekete o
Vasilakis hrap glan ti sampania/ tin
anighi/*

*lipon vghale to paputsaki su tis lei tis
nifis/ to vghazi ekini/ to ghemizun
sampania/*

one/ and you do the same too they tell
the bride/

when they kissed them all they go back
there/ they went back to the same guy/
that guy who was at the entrance of the
church/

he tells him (ellipsis for the
bridegroom) kiss the bride ten times/
one two three four five six seven eight/
nine nine nine/

(he he)

then they walked a bit further towards
the door/ the last one in row was
Spiros this rascal from Pireas/ do you
know Spiros (turning to the audience)

*[Spiros? who's Spiros?/ a short and
chubby guy?]*

no no tall and well-built very nice
bloke/ I thought that Spiros would be
the one that'd tease them most/ I had
this impression/ probably because I
know that he's a rascal from Pireas/

but when they reached the guy before
the last/ it was Vassilakis who was
down there dressed in civilian clothes/
and he had a champagne/

so when they reached the guy before
the last/ Vassilakis opens the
champagne like this (lit: Vassilakis like
this "hrap glan" (onomatopoeia) the
champagne)

so they tell the bride take off your
shoe/ she takes it off/ they fill it in
with champagne/

*piesto esi tu lene tu Saki/ tsak to pini o
Sakis/ dhen ekane piso o mavros o
Sakis puthena/*

now drink it they tell Sakis (the
bridegroom)/ "tsak" Sakis drinks it/
poor Sakis wouldn't say no/

*omos to xanaghemizun/ dhinune ke tis
Katerinas/ to kopanise ki i Katerina/*

but they fill it once again/ they give
Katerina as well/ Katerina drank it
down in one go/

***4th attempt: successful, resolves the
complication***

*ftanun sto Spiro pia/ ftasane sto Spiro
pu leghame tha tus ekane kapsonia/
eleftheri tus lei o Spiros o pireotis o
atimos/ fighete/*

so they finally reach Spiros/ they
reached Spiros who we thought that
would tease them most/ free to go
Spiros tells them the rascal from
Pireas/ off you go/

Liakos A., FSA
(for the whole story see Appendix, ex. 4)

In a similarly organised story about two teenagers who go to Athens for their first time, the two friends are faced with three seemingly problematic situations before they actually realise that Athens is not such a dangerous place to be in, as their parents were telling them. This realisation constitutes the story's resolution.

A striking piece of evidence for the cultural power of tripartite schemes in the data comes from a story whose telling arose through the narrator's need to lend support to the belief that a particular ritual of the wedding ceremony must be repeated three times to be appropriate. Specifically, the story is about a wedding ceremony in which the narrator felt that the best-man was not very successful since he violated the rule of the three. The ending of the story is essentially the narrator's defense of the cultural norm:

*(37) ... tris fores ine omos /to kanis etsi to ghirnas etsi ke tak to afinis/
o kubaros omos vlepis to kane pio polles fores/ leme ki emis ti simveni
eki/*

but it's three times/ you do it like this you turn it like that and "tak"
you leave it (on their heads)/ but you see the best man did it more

times/ and we say what's going on there/

Kostas G., FSA

The story's tellability lies in its reporting a frame-breaking and unexpected event, namely the violation of the cultural "rule of three".

3.3 Supplementary Corpora

3.3.1 Patterns of Three and the Written-Based Model of Narration

To further illuminate the role and power of the tripartite patterning as the predominant binding/unfolding strategy of MG storytelling, the supplementary corpora were also looked into. The analysis of the written corpus suggested that the pattern is seriously diminished in it: it lacks pervasiveness and is far from constituting the stories' unfolding frame (see table 4 below). Considering that the written corpus in many respects represents the literacy-based model of MG narration, the reduction of the tripartite patterning in it is not surprising. Strict patterning evolving from a key-number has only been reported for oral narration of cultures with very strong orality (see Hymes 1981). Similarly, marking the "*rhythm of thought by the beat of formal devices*", in our case by means of the rhythmic segments of three, was claimed to have been obliterated by literacy practices (Gee 1989a: 67). The data analysis indeed confirms the above view by strongly suggesting that the three-part patterning is primarily a feature of oral MG narration. While not totally abandoned in written stories, its power as the basic structuring principle of unfolding is seriously reduced. Its instances are much more random and confined in impact; also, they vary among individuals. They are mostly local-level attempts rather than part of a macro-segmentational strategy. Typically, they take the form of line-level reiteration devices: e.g.

(38) a. ... *aftos pire tin kopella tu*
agalia ke fighane/ ke eghe sinehisa na
perimeno/ ke perimena perimena

... he took his girlfriend and left hand
in hand/ and I kept on waiting for her
(the narrator's date who stood him up)/

*perimena/ irthe to dhialimma tu
erghu/ ki egho san ilithios akoma
perimena/.*

*Perase sinolika mia ora ke ikosi lepta/
protu pisto pos oso ke na arghise apo
tin ekdhromula ston Kalamo dhen
eprokito na erthi/ **arketa malakas
fisika, arketa tiflos apo erota fisika,
arketa hazos fisika na anehome tetia
koroidhia/** alla dhen ipirhe loghos
pia/...*

and I waited waited waited/, the
film's interval came/ and I still waited
like a fool./

A whole hour and twenty minutes
passed/ and then I was convinced that
no matter how long her trip to
Kalamos took her she was not going to
show up/ **too much of a jerk of
course, too much of a guy in love of
course, too much of a fool of course
not to put up with such lies/** but there
was no reason any more/...

Kostas M., WSA

b. ... *egho dhen polikatalaveno akoma to kako pu mas vrike/ alla
ponao, kleo, fonazo mazi tus./ **O ponos tis manas, o ponos mas, ta
mirologhia tis** tripun tus tihus tu spitiu/ ki akughode solo to horio./...*

... I don't understand exactly how dreadful is what's happened/ but **I
am suffering, crying, shouting** with them./ **The mother's pain, our
pain, her mourning** penetrate the walls of the house/ and they are
heard by the whole of village./...

Athina H., WSA

Whereas the pattern of three-line stanzas covers at least 70% of the oral stories, the rest being mostly patterns that are also based on the three-part principle, written narratives on the whole behave differently. Their meso-level units tend to be longer: eight- and nine-line units are quite common and the three-part pattern is significantly reduced (see table 4 below for stanza-organisation patterns in the corpora). To illustrate the above, below is a typical instance of two successive units from a written story (39a) followed by their oral counterpart (39b):

(39) a. ... *Mia mera apofasisame na
exerevnisume tin periohi tu Fliuda/ i
opia ihe polla vuna rematies ke
pedhines ektasis/. Ekini tin imera iha
strabulixi ton astraghalo mu/ ke
kutsena ghiafto ke perpatusa pio argha
apo ola ta alla pedhia/ ke pano mu iha*

... One day we decided on exploring
the area of Fliuda/ which has lots of
mountains, hills and valleys./ That day
I had sprained my ankle/ and thus
limped/ and so I was walking slower
than all the other kids/ and I had a
whistle on me/ just in case I got lost./

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC	WSA	WSC
3-line	190 (77.2%)	140 (70.7%)	286 (79.2%)	140 (75.7%)	53 (27.2%)	42 (32.1%)
4-line	42 (17.1%)	38 (19.2%)	55 (15.2%)	35 (18.9%)	16 (8.2%)	14 (10.7%)
5-line	14 (5.7%)	20 (10.1%)	20 (5.5%)	10 (5.4%)	10 (5.1%)	5 (3.8%)
6-line	0	0	0	0	24 (12.3%)	15 (11.4%)
7-11 line	0	0	0	0	92 (47.2%)	55 (42%)

Table 4: Totals and Mean Percentages of Stanza-Lines Patterns

mia sfirihtra/ ghia tin peroptosi pu tha hanomun/.

Pragmatika ghiro stis tris to mesimeri/ me ton ilio na kei Iulio mina/ adilifhika pos ta alla pedhia ihan apomakrinthi poli/ ke pos imun telios moni mu kapu opu vasileve aperadi isihia/ opu o topos itan erimos/ ki opu brosta mu aplonotan mia ghimni pedhini ektasi/ stin opia dhen ipirhe ute anthropos ute zoo ute spiti/ ke opos fenotan tha hriazotan na peraso ti nihta sto vuno moni mu./

Tote kathisa se mia petra ghia na skefto ti tha kano...

b. ... lipon mia mera pu hame vghi sto vuno akrivos ghiafti ti dhulia iha vghi ki eghe mazi/ apofasisa na dhulepso an ki iha htipisi to podhi mu/ ke to ha dhemeno ston epidhesmo/

lipon opos perpatusame mesa sto

As a matter of fact at three o'clock in the afternoon/ with the sun being hot in the month of July/ I realised that the other kids had gone off far away/ and that I was completely on my own in a place which was so quiet/ in which there wasn't a soul in sight/ and in which there was a big and naked valley lying in front me/ where there was **no man no animal no house**/ and as it seemed I would have to spend the night alone on the mountain./

Then I sat on a stone to think about what I should do...

... so one day that we climbed up the mountain to do the job I went out with them too/ I decided on working that day though I'd hurt my foot/ and I'd wrapped it in a bandage/

so as we were walking at noon the rest

*mesimeri i alli arhisan na perpatane
pio ghrighora/ perasan poli ghrighora
oli tin plaghia tu vunu/ ke vghikan
stin pedhiadha/*

*ki eghe se kapio simio arhisa na tus
hano sighe sighe/ arhisa ki eghe na
kurazome/ arhise na me ponai to
podhi mu apo to poli perpatima/*

*ki otan perpatodas katafera na fiaso
sena stavrodhromi pu pisteva oti tha
vro ta pedhia/ dhe vrika kanena/ dhen
ipirhe kanenas/ imuna telios moni mu
sekino to stavrodhromi/*

of the team **started walking faster/**
they quickly walked past the hillside/
and they went down to the valley/

and at some point **I (emphatic) started**
losing them/ and I started getting
tired/ and my foot started hurting
'cos I'd walked so much/

and when I finally reached a crossroads
where I thought I could find the team/
I found nobody/ nobody was there/ I
was completely alone at that
crossroads/

Evi B.

The comparison between the two extracts above is illustrative of the difference in the patterning of unfolding between oral and written stories. In addition to the rule of the "three-line" stanzas as opposed to the seven- and eight-line stanzas of the written extract, the oral extract presents tripartite patterns embedded in stanzas or fortified by reiteration (bold, also notice one instance of tripartite line-manifestation in the written extract).

3.3.2 Children's Narratives

The above section reported that the study of the written corpus showed that the unfolding power of the tripartite pattern is connected with the orality-associated constraints and norms of narrative construction in MG. The investigation of the second supplementary corpus, namely children's narratives, was done on different grounds. The aim was to fully confirm the power of the tripartite patterning in MG storytelling as an intergenerational well-established and vital cultural norm. Indeed, the results of the data analysis are absolutely in accordance with the finding about the pervasiveness of the pattern in adults' narratives. Children's stories observe the tripartite mechanism of unfolding with comparable consistency. Specifically, they make effective use of the tripartite schemes in whichever structural pattern of narrative they produce. For instance, chronological narratives are organised in the form of lists of actions in

patterns of threes: e.g.

(40) a. *eki faghame/ ipiame/ pexame polli ora/*

there we **ate/ we drank/ we played** a lot/

Elina K.

b. *meta irthame pali edho/ kaname ligho epanalipsi/ ke pighame sto spiti/*

then we **came back here/ we revised a bit/ and we went home/**

Maria G.

c. *meta faghame/ ke meta kathisame allo ligho/ ke meta ghirisame/*

then we had lunch/ and then we stayed a bit more/ and then we came back/

Kostadina E.

In narratives that encode a climactic event, the prototypical use of the three-part pattern at the higher level is the occurrence of three stanzas which form the three acts of the story; these instantiate the straightforward scheme: STANZA 1: Orientation - STANZA 2: Complicating act - STANZA 3: Resolution, which is sometimes framed by a coda: e.g.

(41) Orientation

1. *thimame pu i mama mu eftiahne kati melomakarona/ ki eghe iha anevi pano ston pago opos imuna mikri/ ke ta he vali psila ghia na min ta paro eghe/*

1. I remember when my mum had made some "melomakarona" (Greek traditional honey cookies made for Christmas)/ and as I was little I had climbed up onto the bar/ and she had put them up high so that I couldn't find them/

Complicating Action

2. *ki etsi opos to pira mu pese kato ki espase/ ke pane ta melomakarona ola kato/ pai to hali/*

2. and as I pinched it (ellipsis for "the vase with the melomakarona") it fell off my hands and broke/ and all the melomakarona fall down on the floor/ and the carpet is ruined/

Resolution

3. *meta irthe i mama ke mu lei ti
ekanes/ tis leo pigha na paro ena
melomakaronof mu lei na min to
xanakanis/*

3. then my mum came and tells me
what have you done/ I tell her I went
to get a melomakaronof she tells me
don't do it again/

Coda

4. *e ke dhen to ho xanakani/ dhiladhi
na anevo ston pago/*

4. and I have never done it again/
climb up onto that bar/

Ghiula K.

Alternatively, the three stanzas exhibit various combinations such as: one stanza of orientation and two stanzas of complication in the case of ending at the high point narratives, one stanza of orientation and two stanzas of complicating act with its resolution etc. Longer narratives also exploit the principle of tripartite organisation in various ways, the most common one being that of three complicating action stanzas framed by abstract, orientation and/or coda. On the whole, the organisation of the three-line stanzas in terms of content is much more standardised and less variable compared to what happens in adults' stories (see §3.2.2). Their prototypical and commonest patterning is orientation (or, background information, ongoing action) -act - result/outcome: e.g.

(42) a. *a ke itane paghos kato/ ke kano etsi ke ghlistraof ke epesa kato/*

and there was ice on the ground/ and I somehow slip/ and I fell down/

Vaggelitsa S.

b. *ke i mana mu etimaze faghito/ ke tis espasa eghe ena piato/ ke me
malose/*

and my mother was preparing dinner/ and I broke one of her plates/
and she told me off/

Vasiliki S.

c. *pezame hionopolemo/ ke mu rixe hioni kapios/ ke ghemise olo to
prosopo/*

we were snowfighting/ and somebody threw a snowball at me/ and all
my face was covered/

Maria G.

*d. o Ghiorghos ihe kathisi edho exo sta kagela etsi/ ke buf pefti kato
me to kefali tu/ ke to espase/*

George had sat on the railings outside like this/ and "buf" he falls down
head first/ and he broke it/

Tasos S.

The fact that the tripartite patterning proved to be a predominant feature of unfolding in children's narrativisation of experience strengthens the argument for its significance and viability in MG storytelling: it appears to be a powerful intergenerational cultural norm.

3.4 Summary

This chapter took the first step towards fully uncovering the text-constitutive mechanisms of MG stories by presenting a significant finding which was brought to the fore by the application of stanza-analysis in the data. This is the realisation of the acts of binding and unfolding through a strict tripartite patterning obtaining at all levels of narrative construction. This pattern was argued to be directly related to cultural perceptions about number three, a key-number in the Christian Orthodox religion and in the Greek folk tradition, which underlie a specific rhetoric of action that calibrates the global narrative segmentation strategy. The commonest manifestations of the patterning were discussed in detail for both micro- and macro-levels of narrative organisation. At the level of lines and stanzas, the reiteration devices through which the patterning is frequently realised were deemed of particular significance: they form instances of enhancement of the evaluative functioning by means of unfolding choices. Further evidence for the power and pervasiveness of the tripartite patterning as an indispensable component of the "poetry" of oral MG narration was provided by its occurrence as an axis of unfolding in children's

narratives as well as by its serious reduction in the written corpus. Furthermore, its overwhelming function across the oral corpora as a regulatory force of narrative organisation, unaffected by the contextual variable of audience, suggested its high degree of normativity and its schematic significance. This means that it forms an integral part of the Greek narrators' schema for the act of storytelling and as such it informs the top-down construction of their narratives. On the basis of the above, it is legitimate to argue that unfolding the stories in segments of threes possesses a predictive power as well, that is, it informs the audience's predictions and expectations about their organisational structure. Lastly, as will become clear in the following chapter, the patterning provides the frame that ties together the stories' array of unfolding components.

Chapter 4

Binding and Unfolding II: Connectivity and Participant Tracking Devices

4.0 Binding/Unfolding Devices and Data Analysis: An Introduction

Having reported and analysed the stories' tripartite patterning as the frame of their unfolding and a constant feature of their style, the discussion will now move to their specific binding and unfolding devices. The decision on the particular set of devices which will be investigated is the product of i. the line of research adopted in the relevant literature, ii. the operationalisation of binding and unfolding as tools for the uncovering of the text-constitutive mechanisms of the present data, and iii. the findings that the application of the analytic methods brought to the fore. To begin with the relevant literature, discourse cohesion studies of narrative as a rule focus on the spatiotemporal and participant coordinates of a story in their attempt to shed light on its thematic progression and account for its organisation. These are unanimously judged as the main "anchor points" (Berman 1988) for uncovering the web of a story's coherence relations. In essence, this line of research crucially draws on Halliday's & Hasan's (1976) typology of cohesion devices which covers both lexical and referential means of tying a text's clauses together.

Thus, the main devices which form the standard point of departure of discourse cohesion studies for the discovery of a story's organisational relations are as follows: connective markers, reference devices, temporal devices and reiteration devices. As will be seen in this chapter, these devices constitute the common denominator of approaches to narrative discourse which can be characterised as binding-level; at the same time, they have acted as the standpoint from which the shift of emphasis from the "local cohesion" level to the higher-level of global narrative structure was realised.

To come to the analytic scheme adopted for the data, as already discussed (§1.6), the conceptualisation of the binding and unfolding pairing essentially relies on the integration of the two traditions of research on local and global narrative organisation. The main vehicle chosen for looking into these two levels in the data is the stanza-analytic method. Its application has already provided us with the backbone of the texts' organisation, namely the tripartite patterning. Subsequently, this patterning will be employed as the general frame within which the stories' specific binding and unfolding devices will be explored. In particular, the meso-level unit of three-line stanzas will be the *locus classicus* for studying binding and unfolding: determining the means by which the stanzas' adjacent lines are hooked up to each other will uncover the stories' local organisation, while identifying the stanzas' demarcatory (ie opening and closure) devices will reveal the stories' global segmentation strategy.

Hymes (1977: 440) defended the process of discovering narrative macro-organisation by means of looking into the "*pegs*" or constituency-initial particles that a text's segmentation brings to the fore, which is essentially the procedure endorsed here as well, against the possible criticism of being a circular and mechanical enterprise. He specifically suggested that it neither precedes nor determines the identification of a text's overall pattern of organisation which is discovered through a combination of prosodic, syntactic and thematic criteria. In his view, a segmentation based on initial particles which are prescribed and pre-fixed would distort the text's overall pattern. The right procedure is first to discover and delineate the story's "*constituency components*" (Woodbury 1985: 155) and then recognise the "*systems of formal features*" (ie markers of local and global narrative structure) that "*pattern with these components*" (idem). These were the steps that guided the segmentation procedures applied to the data at hand as well, with the aim of uncovering their binding/unfolding devices.

The design of the chapter is as follows: It comprises two parts of which the first focuses on the stories' connectivity markers and the second on their participant tracking. The parts themselves are compatible in terms of their design. The discussion

of each part will begin with a short review of the discourse-analytic research on the device examined in the light of the binding/unfolding distinction. Subsequently, the focus will move to the data where the first step is to set up a typology of the device which suits them. Then, the device will be explored first at the binding level and then as an exponent of the global segmentation strategy (unfolding function). The results of both binding and unfolding analyses will be discussed with the twofold purpose of shedding light on narrative construction in MG and of discovering its context-sensitivity to the audience variable as shaped by the distinction adults-children.

Part A

Line-Linkage and Discourse Markers

4.1 Binding Studies of Connectivity

The first part of this chapter focuses on the types of inter-line linkage and the connective markers by which they are signalled, which, as the data analysis showed, function as a major aspect of the stories' binding/unfolding make-up. A point which needs to be clarified prior to their discussion is that the interest here lies purely in the surface textual cueing of the inter-line relations by means of specific connective elements (markers), rather than in the adjacent lines' underlying (ie not syntactically expressed) semantic relations, such as listing, elaboration, specification, cause, etc (for an example of relevant research see Polanyi 1988: 6-38).

The major focus of discourse studies of interclausal relations has been the relation of coordination and subordination as a point of departure for investigating the similarities and differences between text-types and between spoken and written texts. These studies can be characterised as "binding-level" approaches in that they only deal with coordination and subordination as devices for tying together successive clauses. Traditionally, coordination is defined as the symmetrical relation in which two or more elements of the same status are linked together as long as at least one of them is marked with an overt coordinator: and, or, but, so. Subordination on the other hand is prototypically defined as the non-symmetrical relation holding between two clauses so that one is a constituent or part of (i.e. dependent upon) the other clause (the main clause) which is the dominant element of the two (Quirk et al 1985: 720). The distinction between coordination and subordination has often been viewed in terms of "structurally simple" - "structurally complex"; hence, its use as a standpoint from which the relation between spoken and written language in terms of linguistic complexity has been investigated. The general hypothesis guiding the research design of all relevant textual studies is that increased use of subordination in one of the two modalities signals increased complexity. However, as is the case with all other alleged aspects of structural complexity which have been looked at comparatively in the spoken and

written language, research on coordination and subordination presents a certain amount of controversy in its results. Most of the oldest experiments conducted (Blankenship 1962, O'Donnell 1974, Kroll 1977, Ochs 1979, and Chafe 1984 more recently) have demonstrated that there is a preference for subordinate rather than coordinate structures in written language, a fact which is in accordance with the view that written language is more structurally complex and more "integrated" than the oral. Opposed to the results of these experiments are Poole & Field's (1972), Halliday's (1979), and Beaman's (1984) findings. They all agreed that speech and writing can be equally complex and that the difference between them lies in the types of complexities involved in each mode. Halliday suggested that spoken language presents more syntactic complexity (i.e. more subordinate constructions) but less lexical density than written language. Poole & Field found a significantly greater degree of subordination in spoken discourse and Beaman, working with a *"combined functional and formal classification of subordinate clauses"* (1984: 79) reported that *"though nonfinite nominals and adverbial subordinate clauses are more common in written narrative, finite nominals and adjectival relative subordinate clauses are more frequent in spoken narrative"* (idem). Of the above studies, only Beaman's was based on data of the same genre in both modalities. The rest analysed data of different registers in terms of formality and purpose.

Thus, a major problematic point acting as a common denominator of studies that have occasionally contended that written non-literary narration presents more subordinate clauses than oral narration is that they were not based on data of the same register, communicative purpose, formality and topic, or in other words, that they did not control for confounding variables. Added to the above problem is the increasing realisation that any conclusions about the relation of subordination to complexity are bound to lack validity in view of the deficiencies and the heterogeneity attached to the traditional definition and scope of subordination. Specifically, the classic account of subordination characterising studies like the ones discussed above, has been repeatedly attacked for the incoherent nature of the phenomena subsumed under it (e.g. Matthiessen & Thompson 1988). This incoherence and heterogeneity is predominantly

evident in the conflation of the two main criteria for treating a clause as subordinate, namely that of function and of grammatical class. By its traditional account the term "subordination" sometimes refers to a function a clause can have and sometimes to a particular class of clause. As a result, the term covers types of clauses that have quite different grammatical and functional properties. At the same time it obscures the various degrees of integration of a "subordinate" clause into the main clause (Lehman 1988) by not catering for the vital distinction between clauses which are so deeply embedded into the main clause as to be part of it (ie constituent or complement) and clauses which are separate units and are involved in a circumstantial relation (ie place, time, reason, manner etc) with the main clause. The former category comprises the cases of relative and complement clauses while the latter covers the different kinds of adverbial clauses.

On these grounds, the latest tendency in discourse-analytic studies is to dispense with the term "subordination" for being infelicitous (e.g. Thompson 1984, Halliday 1985, Longacre 1985, Matthiessen & Thompson 1988). Drawing on Halliday's model of functional grammar which treated the above clause types (ie relative, complement and adverbial clauses) as differentiated cases of hypotaxis, Longacre (1985) and Matthiessen & Thompson (1988) distinguished between cases of (subject and object) complement clauses and restrictive clauses on one hand and cases of adverbial clauses on the other hand; the former were named *embedded clauses*, and the latter *clause combinations*, in particular enhancing clause combinations, since their job is to circumstantially enhance the main clause. In this framework, embedding and clause combinations figure as two major subdivisions of the broad term hypotaxis which, adapted from Halliday (1985), contrasts parataxis. The two together constitute the general categories of clause combining. As will be seen in §4.2 below, the formation of the typology of inter-line relations in the data endorsed the above line of tradition and its guidelines for the categorisation of hypotactic clauses.

From the above discussion of subordination, it should be apparent that studies which have attempted to employ its distribution in a text as an indicator of complexity or of

literate style have failed to take into account that the different clause types subsumed under it are likely to differ both in their *"degree and in their mode of complexity"* (Biber 1992: 133, also see Schleppegrell 1992: 117-31). For instance, as Biber's multi-feature analysis showed, causative constructions, relatives and Wh-clauses co-occur with *"interactive and involved features"* (idem: 155), ie features related to the expression of attitudes and of communicative purpose, which are prototypically associated with oral style. By contrast, past participials and adverbial clauses co-occur with markers of an integrated and impersonal style that commonly characterises written texts. The above difference confirms the view that types of clauses traditionally treated as subordinate are in fact associated with different types of discourse and as a corollary with different degrees of complexity.

4.1.1 Discourse Markers and Unfolding: The "Global Marker View"

While binding-level studies of interclausal relations present a long-standing tradition in the area of Discourse Analysis, the interest has been gradually shifting from the investigation of interclausal connectives as local cohesion ties, or, to use Segal's terms (Segal et al 1991: 27-54), from the *"local cohesion view"* of connectives to a *"global marker view"* by which connectives are treated as *"discourse markers"* that signal the relations between different units in a stretch of discourse. Viewed from the perspective of the binding-unfolding pairing put forward in this thesis, studies which instantiate this shift of emphasis can be characterised as the "unfolding-level" counterparts of the "binding-level" approaches to interconnectivity. Not surprisingly, these studies are as a rule delineated by multi-level functional discourse-analytic frameworks. Specifically, the classic instance of the "global marker view" is Schifffrin's work on discourse markers which are defined as *"textual coordinates of talk that focus on prior vs upcoming text and bracket units of it"* (1987: 31). In her framework, the functions of discourse markers in conversations are located at more than one textual level. Thus, by allowing for their multi-level functioning, the model raised awareness of both their local and higher-level textual role and of their crucial reliance on the context of communication. Comparable in orientation is Redeker's work (1991: 1139-72) which

expanded on and critically reviewed Schiffrin's approach by drawing attention to cases of discourse markers that function on more planes than the ones pointed out by Schiffrin. For instance, the markers "then", "but" and "or" were found to signal shifts in the speaker's attitude or orientation towards discourse (ie plane of participation framework), which had not been suggested by Schiffrin.

The relations between discourse markers and global textual units have also been a core issue in Peterson & McCabe's (1991: 29-53) work which investigated the developmental aspects of the pragmatic uses of connectives and their function in narrative macrostructure. To capture this, markers were coded according to their signalling shifts out of the main storyline by means of evaluation and orientation and shifts back into the main action. On the whole, "global marker view" studies have focused upon the role of discourse markers as devices which occur at transitional locations, preferably at the beginning of textual segments. Their general agreement is that markers alone or along with other signals of time, place and cast act as powerful segmentation devices (Chafe 1980, Grimes 1975, Longacre 1985, Johnstone 1990 etc).

4.2 Forming a Typology of Linkage Relations in the Data

Setting up a typology of linkage relations and their accompanying markers was judged to be an indispensable step towards quantitatively exploring their binding and unfolding functioning. The initial distinction posed was between lines which lack any overt (explicit) syntactic connective between them (*adjoined lines*) and lines which are in various ways tied together by a marker (*conjoined lines*). Frequently, the lack of connection between adjoined lines is made up for by parallelism of structure or another reiteration device. In this case, reiteration devices create in Gee's terms (1985) an "expressive" type of linkage: e.g.

(43) a. **Parallel construction:** ... *i petres sikothikan/ ta klaria eklapsan/*
i anthropi vuvathikan

the stones rose/ the branches cried/ the people silenced/...

Fotini B., WSC

b. **Paraphrase:** ... *tora katalavenis oti mugathikame/ kanenas dhe milaghe katholu/ dhe boruse ute foni na vghali i mana mu/...*

... now you realise that we were speechless/ nobody talked/ my mum could not utter a word/...

Athina H., BSA

Though the term conjoined is frequently treated in the literature (e.g. Longacre 1983) as a superordinate which describes the existence of any connective between two clauses, here for lack of better term it is employed in a more restricted sense covering the following types of line-initial markers:

- a. **Time adverbials and phrases** (e.g. *tote*: then, *meta/istera/katopin*: afterwards, after that, *xafnika*: suddenly, *ekini ti stighmi/ ekini tin ora/s'ekini ti fasi*: at that moment/point etc) and **place adverbials** (e.g. *eki*: there, *s'ekino to meros*: in that place, etc).
- b. **Attitudinal adverbials or markers of evidentiality and affect** such as certainty and doubt adverbials (e.g. *pragmatika*: really, actually, *profanos*: evidently, *mallon/pithanon*: probably) and positive-negative affect adverbials (e.g. *eftihos-dhistihos*: fortunately/luckily-unfortunately: see Biber & Finnegan 1988, 1989). In Halliday's functional framework (1967) these adverbials fit his definition of modal adjuncts which establish the mode of the message.
- c. Particles that are reminiscent of the category of "void pragmatic connectives" (Even-Zohar 1990: 219) in that they do not carry "a full semantic function" (idem) and as a result their role is primarily discourse-organising. In this respect, they can be argued to serve as "markers of the pragmatic structure of discourse" (Redeker 1990: 372) or "pragmatic markers"; in other words, they index discoursal relations

between textual units (e.g. digression from, return to or elaboration on a topic) rather than semantic relations. In Halliday and Hasan's framework (1976), the term saved for "void connectives" is that of "*continuatives*": these are defined as items "*which although they do not express any particular one of the conjunctive relations... are nevertheless used with a cohesive force in the text*" (267). The commonest "continuative" markers in the data are "*lipon*" (well, anyway), "*telos padon*" (anyway), and "*edaxi*" (alright).

The next type of linkage relation coded in the data involved coordination. The major coordinating markers in MG are as follows: "*ke*" (and), "*etsi*" (so), "*alla*" (but), "*ghiati*" (because). The treatment of coordinating markers followed the traditional account of what constitutes a relation of coordination except for one ramification which incorporated the latest advances on the issue: this is the treatment of "*pragmatic, non-causal*" uses of "*ghiati-constructions*" (because-constructions) as cases of coordination. Discourse-analytic studies of oral (mainly conversational) texts have reported that certain connectives traditionally treated as subordinators very frequently behave as coordinating markers (Chafe 1984, 1985, Schleppegrell 1990, 1992) which do not establish a semantic relation of hypotaxis between two adjacent lines but a paratactic discoursal relation that indexes transition from one textual segment to the other. In particular, there is ample evidence that the marker "because" in numerous cases does not establish a non-symmetrical relation between two clauses in which one of them expresses reason for the proposition asserted by the other; instead, it functions as a discoursal link which paratactically indexes the upcoming text with respect to whatever preceded it. Schleppegrell (1990: 325) suggested that

the paratactic uses of because... take several forms, including discourse-reflexive uses that support or explain prior statements, non-causal uses that convey expressive rather than propositional meaning, and interactional uses that signal continuation and response in conversational discourse

Cases of "causal constructions" were carefully analysed in the data in the light of Chafe's and Schleppegrell's view and it was found that "ghiati-constructions" normally act as coordinators when in stanza-initial position. In this case, they function indexically, that is, they signal continuation of and elaboration on the previous discourse (example 44a below). By contrast, "*epidhi*" (because) which is the common alternative for introducing causal lines as a rule acts as a marker of hypotaxis (example 44b below):

(44) a. *e pai o gheros pia to afise/ ohi
oti dhen itane pallikari/ su leo itane
pallikari/ afu ta vazane me tus
isaggelis tora/ ohi me pedharelia
dhiladhi/*

so the old man just let go/ not that he
wasn't a brave man/ I'm telling you he
was brave/ since they were going
against the law/ not with
schoolchildren/

*e ghiati su lei astone bori nane
arrostos/*

'cos he says to himself let him be he
might be ill...

Kostas H., FSA

b. *telika beno sto taxi/ tu leo Krioneri/
apla tin periohi/*

I finally get into the taxi/ I tell him
Krioneri/ just the name of the area/

*ki epidhi ihe allus mesa me pighe apo
allo dhromo...*

and **because** he had other people in the
taxi he took me there from another
way...

Alexandra F., BSA

The final linkage relation employed for the coding of adjacent lines was that of "hypotaxis". The term was chosen instead of "subordination" on the grounds of the discussion in §4.1. Additionally, following the line of research which argues for a distinction between clause combining and embedding, the two categories were kept apart as distinct cases of hypotaxis. Of these, clause combining comprised enhancing clause combinations, that is, adverbial clauses and participial clauses. Another case of hypotaxis which was coded as a linkage relation was that of elaborating hypotaxis by non-restrictive relative clauses. By contrast, restrictive relative clauses and subject and object complements, that is, cases of embedding which as Thompson (1984: 87)

suggested are determined by the grammar of complementation and the pragmatics of reference, were not included in this study. Similarly, prepositional phrases were excluded from the coding. Chafe (1980) in his discussion of what constitutes a separate idea unit claimed that there are cases of adverbials and prepositional phrases with a single intonational contour which behave as separate idea units. As already suggested, in Gee's (1985) definition of a line, which is adopted here, all adverbials and prepositional phrases are treated as part of a line rather than a line of their own. In fact, the data analysis suggested that they generally function as clause constituents and not as cases of circumstantially enhancing clause combinations; in other words, they resemble complement and restrictive clauses, rather than adverbial clauses. Thus, they were not coded as separate linkage types for the purposes of this discussion.

The only case of prepositional phrases which was coded separately is unique to written narration and entails unfolding-level functioning. This is the case of *fronted prepositional phrases*, that is, of saliently positioned prepositional phrases, which were found to function as separate lines demarcating stanza initiations. In the sense of the Hallidayan notion of theme as a point of departure for the message (1985), they can be characterised as a topicalisation or thematisation device (see Cadiot 1992: 61 for the same device in spoken French). Though the application of this notion to MG is anything but straightforward, here it is used in order to emphasise the initial position occupied by the prepositional phrases in question. As the initial line of a stanza, these prepositional phrases emphasise the "*staging*" (Grimes 1975) properties of the initial position. Thus, they provide a local context for the interpretation of the stanza that follows: e.g.

(45) a. ...*To mono omos pu vrikan itan
to kassetofono ke mia kenurghia valitsa
pu opos fenete ti hrisimopiisan ghia na
to metaferun/.*

...But the only thing they found was
the taperecorder and a new suitcase
which it seems they used to carry it in/.

*Me tin idhea tis klopis, tin ikona ton
spasmenon ghialion ke tis
paraviasmenis exoportas pu dhen
parihe kamia asfalia/ xekinisa ghia to*

**With the thought of burglary, the
picture of broken glasses and the
breached door** which didn't provide
any security/ I set off for a fellow

spiti enos simfititi mu...

student's flat...

Alexandra F., WSA

In this example the fronted prepositional phrase "with the thought...door" indexes the prior text in which the theft and its consequences have been narrated, and is thus thematic or recapitulatory. The same goes for the fronted phrase "in a state of panic" of the following example:

b. *...trehume san trelli/ htipame sto
ghitona pu ihe aftokinito na mas
voithisi na metaferume to pedhi se
kapio ghiatro/.*

...we run like the clappers/ knock at the
neighbour's who had a car to help us
to get the child to a doctor/.

*S'exalli katastasi emis, aftos me tis
pijames/ benume sto aftokinito tu/*

In a state of panic we, he in his
pyjamas get into his car...

Thomas H., WSA

To sum up, the types of inter-line linkage relations coded in the data are as follows:
a. adjoined lines, b. conjoined lines comprising linkage by temporal adverbial, evidentiality and affect adverbial, and continuative connective, c. coordinated lines, d. adverbial lines (enhancing clause combinations), e. participial lines (enhancing clause combinations) and f. non-restrictive relative lines. Categories d, e and f are instances of hypotactic clause combination.

4.3 Inter-Line Linkage Relations at Binding-Level

As a result of its control for variables (see §2.2), the basic corpus was judged to be ideal for the coding of the binding-level connectivity relations. Specifically, if set against comparative studies of linkage in spoken and written language, it presents the advantage of minimising as much as possible the effect of intervening variables which skew the results of such studies. In particular, it controls for the discourse type, topic, and degree of formality. Also, the same subject delivers both the oral and the written texts in question. However, the analysis of linkage relations at binding level shed little light on the differences between oral and written modality. The only significant

difference that emerged was audience- rather than modality-associated. This is the reduced use of adjoined lines in BSC ($t=2.28$, $df=19$, $p<.05$) in favour of an increased use of coordination ($t=2.10$, $df=19$, $p<.05$) and hypotaxis ($t=2.15$, $df=19$, $p<.05$), as can be seen in table 5 below.

	BSA	BSC	WSA	WSC
Adjoined	32.9	14.9	26.8	17.7
Conjoined	2.9	2.6	4.8	3.3
Coordinate	39.7	48.9	41.4	46.7
Hypotactic	24.4	33.5	29	30.3

Table 5: Mean Percentages of Inter-Line Linkage Types

These findings indicate a tendency towards explicit signalling of inter-line binding relations in SC: both paratactic and hypotactic links serve as cues to the relation between adjacent clauses by contrast to the strategy of adjoining which heavily relies on the addressee for its decoding. The above finding shows how simplistic are approaches to discourse for children which reduce the audience adaptation phenomenon to the avoidance of what is referred to as structurally complex, subordination being one of the first structures to be examined (e.g. see Anderson 1984, Coupland 1983, Crowhurst & Piché 1979, Freedle et al 1977). First and foremost, the notion of discourse complexity is anything but well-defined. Secondly, to follow Enkvist's view (1987: 206), each textual choice is the product of a weighting of different decision parameters: in the case of hypotaxis in SC, these parameters are complexity -if we accept that hypotactic constructions are complex- and explicitness, and their tension is resolved in favour of the latter. Additionally, as Givón (1991: 337) argued, hypotactic clauses implicate a faster processing speed (ie less mental effort) for the decoder as a result of their syntactic markedness. Thus, it can be argued that what motivates their increased use in SC is the factor of cognitive salience and processing ease.

The next finding emerging from the binding analyses concerns the modality-associated use of participial constructions: these, though occupying 3% of the total of linkage relations in oral stories (BSA and BSC), increase up to 17% and 15% in WSA and WSC respectively. As already mentioned, the controversy in the literature regarding the relation between hypotactic structures and written texts does not allow for safe comparisons; nevertheless, the use of participials in the data lends support to their common treatment as integrative devices characteristic of written modality (for a review see Biber 1986).

4.3.1 Connectives as Binding Devices and the Missing Link

The most that the findings about the binding-level function of markers in the data provide us with is a general idea of how adjacent clauses "hang together" in each case of storytelling and make up the general picture of the stories' connectivity. Specifically, it can be argued that SC on the whole present a packaged style and a slow flow of narration resulting from their predilection for signposting the lines' relations. SA on the other hand create the sense of rapid movement of narration as a result of their adjoining strategy. However, even with this information at hand, the story of interconnectivity in the data is still incomplete since the insights into the higher-level functioning of connective relations, that is, their contribution to the texts' global segmentation, are still missing. To obtain them, we need to move from the local-level role of connective relations to their strategic role as devices for stringing together the text and segmenting its units. Thus, following is the second part of the integrative process of the binding and unfolding of markers in the data, namely the investigation of their global-cohesion (unfolding) role.

4.4 Discourse Markers and Unfolding

4.4.1 Discourse Markers and Stanza-Boundaries: A Typology

The point of departure for uncovering the unfolding function of connectivity was the coding of the occurrence of markers at the beginning of stanzas. As suggested in §4.0, looking into the formal devices that demarcate textual units is a standard procedure

for the discovery of a story's macroorganisation. Thus, the qualitative analysis of the formal devices that commonly serve the stories' segmentation led to the identification of the unfolding markers which are in fact only a subset of those that characterise binding relations. For instance, of the hypotactic markers only the **markers of preposed adverbial clauses** which introduce **temporal clauses** and very rarely **causal and concession clauses**, were identified as demarcatory devices. These markers were found in operation at stanza-initial point rather than at stanza-closure. Therefore, each stanza was coded for the occurrence of a stanza-initial marker which was subsequently classified in one of the following categories:

- a. **Coordinating markers.**
- b. **Conjoining markers** comprising the subcategories of temporal adverbials, preposed deictics, evidentiality and affect adverbials and "void" connectives or continuatives. The three last subcategories are summed up into one and only temporal adverbials form a subcategory of their own. This decision is a result of the frequency of their distribution.
- c. **Markers of preposed adverbial clauses.** Rare cases of stanza-initial temporal participials were added to this category as well.
- d. **Fronted Prepositional phrases.**

Added to the above is a fifth category of a stanza-initial marker that the data analysis brought to the fore. The category comprises a small recurring set of phrases that were labelled as "*meta-discourse signals*". The term reflects their overt reference to the act of narrating which is accompanied by temporal and less commonly spatial expressions (e.g. *tora*: now, *parakato*: further on). Fleischman (1991: 291-306) discussing the metalanguage of spoken and written discourse suggested that the conceptualisation of discourse as space and time through the use of spatial and temporal expressions is a

crucial component of the metalinguistic activity; spatial metalinguistic phrases characterise written discourse while temporal expressions characterise spoken discourse. In the data, such expressions corroborate the metadiscursive character of the stanza-initial phrases of the data. The commonest of the meta-discourse signals is "*ti eghine tora?*" (what happened now?) which is a device that signals passage to a new event-schema. Being in the form of a rhetorical question it also expresses an attempt on the narrator's part to secure the listener's attention: e.g.

(46) a. *tus petaxa olus exo/ leo fighete
dhio leptá ke ta lipa na dhume ti tha
ghini edho pera me tin istoria ghiati
ine sovaro/*

... I threw them all out/ I say just go
away now to see what's gonna happen
with this fuss/ 'cause it's looking
heavy/

*ti ihe ghini tora/ o pateras mu ihe
anixi pighadhi...*

what had happened now/ my dad had
opened a well...

Aggeliki K., BSA

Sometimes the use of the phrase as an interaction device is reflected by the use of direct address to the listener. This is common in SC where it functions as a pre-informational or pre-empting routine:

b. ... *mia thia mu me ta pedhia tis
adherfi tu patera mu therize sto horafi/
ki otan epiase i vrohi pighe ke kathise
kato apo ena purnari/ ta xeris ta
purnaria?*

...one of my aunts with her kids my
dad's sister was harvesting in the
fields/ and when it started raining she
went and sat under a pine tree/ do you
know pine trees?

[pia ine?]

[which are they?]

*dhen ta his mathi sti gheoghrafia/ oreo
dhedro*

haven't you been told in geography?/
beautiful trees/

[ine thamnos?]

[is it a bush?]

*ohi thamnos/ ki eki akrivos pano epese
o keravnos/*

no no it's not a bush/ and it was right
there that the thunderbolt struck/

ke ti eghine Evula mu?/...

and what happened my Evula/...

Foto B., FSC

In this example the question "and what happened my Evula" marks the passage to the climactic event.

Direct addresses to the listener which are in some ways comparable to Redeker's (1990) category of pragmatic markers called comment clauses or interjections (e.g. know what I mean) are also common; they too are accompanied by temporal or spatial expressions: e.g. *kita na dhis ke parakato* (wait to see (what happens) further on), *ke aku na dhis tora* (and listen up now). Additionally, they too manifest the narrator's need to check with the listeners that they follow the narration before passing to a new event. Other meta-discourse signals are: *ke ine gheghonos afto* (and this is a fact (what I'm gonna say)), *ti allo na po tora* (what more can I say now), *na mi sta polilogho* (not to tell you many things: and to keep it short), *to ti akoluthise dhe leghete ke dhen perighrafete* (what happened next is beyond description).

4.4.2 Discourse Markers and Unfolding Strategies

The first significant finding that the coding of stanza-initial lines for the occurrence of discourse markers presented (see table 6 below), following the typology discussed above, is that the coordinating and to a lesser degree the conjoining markers¹ exhibit an orality-associated unfolding functioning. Specifically, a matched-t analysis suggested that coordinating markers are significantly reduced in written SA ($t=3.23$, $df=19$, $p<.01$) and in written SC ($t=4.60$, $df=19$, $p<.01$). The same applies to the frequency of conjoining markers in both WSA ($t=2.11$, $df=19$, $p<.05$) and WSC ($t=2.24$, $df=19$, $p<.05$). Thus, unlike what happens at binding level where the two categories of markers are equally preferred in the two modalities, their strategic positioning at stanza-initiations as global segmentation devices differentiates between oral and written stories.

¹ Except for temporal adverbials which as already suggested are counted separately.

Of the body of coordinating and conjoining markers functioning as demarcatory devices the two unfolding markers which proved to be strongly associated with the oral stories are "*ke*" (and) and "*lipon*" (well, so, anyway). "*Ke*" is by far the most frequent coordinator and "*lipon*" alone occupies one fourth of the conjoining markers in oral SA and SC. Their powerful unfolding function in oral stories appears to be largely a product of the lack of planning time associated with oral modality. This means that their frequent occurrence at stanza-initiation is partly a device for providing the narrator with time to organise his thoughts and fill up empty space so that the flow of narrative is uninterrupted and its sequentiality is ensured. The function of "*ke*" and "*lipon*" as two powerful orality-associated macroconnectors is illustrated in the following short story in which the narrator chooses to employ them as the only demarcatory connectives for the initiation of stanzas. The story is from the free corpus, delivered over a dinner-party by Panos, aged 26, to a mixed company of three young people of his age and two middle-aged couples. "*Lipon*" will be conventionally and for lack of any other more comparable connective in English translated as "so" or "well":

(47) *lipon* otan imuna dhekapede
dhekaexi hronon ihame pari me to
Ghianni ton Asimakopulo ena
aftomataki/ xeris mihanaki alla mikro/
etsi ena pra pra/

ke anevename ke ta dhio mularia panol/
ke kaname tis voltes mas/ papaki itane
afto pu na mas pai/

lipon ki erhomaste apo tin Kolokotroni
ghia Aghiu Vasiliu/ ti ton piani to
Ghianni ke pai na stripsi dhexia/ eki
sto stenaki to proighumeno pu ine
apenadi to maghazi tis manas tu/

ke strivi dhexia o Ghiannis/ strivi
dhexia o Ghiannis/ hrak to mihanaki

well when I was fifteen or sixteen John
Asimakopulos and I had an automatic
bike/ you know it was a little one/ it
was just a little moped/

and we two full-grown men used to
mount it (lit: "we the two mules"
emphasising the contrast between them
and the "little moped")/ and we cruised
on it/ well we couldn't go far on that
thing/

so we were going down from Aghiu
Vasiliu street to Kolokotroni street/ I
don't know what gets into John and
decides to turn right/ on the alley
where his mother's shop is/

and John turns right/ John turns right
(immediate repetition)/ and he lost the

hrak ki emis kato/

*lipon vrohi kako tora/ patinaz eghe ki
o Ghiannis/ hrak eghe o Ghiannis hrak
to mihanaki/*

(he he)

*ki i mana tu apo pano anihita ta fota
ghiati dhuleve/ mehri na dho eghe na
katalavo ti mu sinevi/ o Ghiannis ehi
sikosi to mihanaki ehi xeskonisti/*

*ela ela dhen epathes tipota/ ela ela
pame na fighume/ dhen eghine tipota/*

*min ton dhi kanenas ke xeftilistune
katalaves/ i mana tu leme apo pano/*

bike and we were all over the place/
(lit: ellipsis and onomatopoeia)

so it was raining cats and dogs/ and it
was very slippery/ the bike and we
were all over the place/ (lit: ellipsis of
the verbs in the stanza, see §5.1.3)

(he he)

and his mother was working above cos
the lights were on/ before I could grab
my wits/ John has gotten up and
straightened himself/

(ellipsis for he "tells me") come on
mate nothing's a miss/ come on let's
get out of here/ much a do about
nothing/

he didn't want anybody to see us
'cause we'd never live it down you
know/ I'm telling you his mother was
just above/

As can be seen, the story's unfolding function crucially relies on the stanza-initial macroconnectors of "ke" and "lipon". In a similar vein, the story about the narrator's assault by the taxi-driver (**example 35**) employs "ke" in three and "lipon" in one of its six stanza-initiations.

The second significant finding about the use of markers as unfolding devices in the data is the increased use of temporal adverbials in BSC ($t=-2.24$, $df=19$, $p<.05$) and FSC ($t=2.12$, $df=58$, $p<.05$) compared to the BSA and FSA respectively (see table 6 below). Both temporal adverbials and adverbial lines constitute major instantiations of the "temporal text-strategy" (Virtanen 1992: 111) which covers the devices by which the continuity or shift of a text's temporal deictic centre is established. Their main difference from "ke" and "lipon" is that they are more explicit signals of temporal progression. In Redeker's terms (1988: 372) "ke" and "lipon" are

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC	WSA	WSC
Conjoining	15.5	26.3	17.2	21.7	4	6.2
Coordinating	34.7	27.2	32	32.7	7	6.1
Temp. Adverbials	17.7	25.7	13.5	27.3	41.6	33.4
Adverbial Clauses	4.8	12.7	4.9	10.6	9.3	12.7
Meta-Discourse	3	2.5	3.8	5.2	3.3	2.8

Table 6: Mean Percentages of Stanza-Initial Lines
with Discourse Markers

"*semantically simple*" rather than "*semantically rich connectives*" (specifiers of a semantic relation) which is the case of temporal adverbials. Though both categories of connectives act as signposts of what is in any case the "*default norm in narration*" (Berman 1988: 473), that is, of sequentiality, temporal adverbials and adverbial clauses do so more explicitly. Temporal adverbials have been reported (e.g. Dry 1983, Schiffrin 1992b: 753) to mark overtly an event as following chronologically from a previous one (Berman *idem*) thus shifting the reference time established in the prior text. Comparably, preposed adverbial clauses normally establish a backward recapitulatory reference (Longacre 1989) which thematically ties the new segment to the preceding discourse (Chafe 1984, Ramsey 1987, Schiffrin 1992a, Thompson 1984). Thus, both devices are explicit signposts of a text's temporal progression and exponents of a strategy of continuity.

Added to the above findings, namely that "ke" and "lipon" are orality-associated markers and that SC exhibit a predilection for temporal discourse markers, is the overall result that SC are the *locus par excellence* of stanzas whose initial boundary is demarcated by at least one of the markers examined here (see table 6 above): BSA: 75.7% - BSC: 96.4%, FSA: 71.4% - FSC: 97.5%. Taking into account the orientational and framing role of markers in general and of temporal markers in particular in the navigation of discourse, the above differences between SA and SC

suggest a tendency in SC to base their connectivity on explicit signposting, in other words, to *"signal a path or orientation in terms of which the following information is to be understood"* (Chafe 1984: 444). This predilection for stanza-initial markers in addition to explicitly encapsulating a new textual segment, creates a sense of conjoinability and paratactic movement from one segment to the other. The text's information flow is regulated by the signposting function of markers and its different parts (segments) are tightly held together. Thus, so far the key-elements in the construction of the unfolding relations in SC prove to be the strategies of explicit signposting and conjoinability or smooth transition.

Thorough data analysis with respect to the above differences between SA and SC suggested that these are illuminated and accounted for only with reference to a. the stanza-initial use of tense continuity or shift and b. the occurrence and function of discourse markers in written stories. The former provides new insights into the choices underlying the "temporal text strategy" in each case of storytelling (adults-children). The latter helps put into perspective their differences in interconnectivity choices.

4.4.2.1 Discourse Markers, Tense Continuity/Shift, and "Temporal-Text Strategy"

Tense shift and in particular shift to the Historical Present in the form of Historical Present verbs of action and of saying forms a key unfolding device in the data and subsequently a major means of stanza-demarcation. However, since it constitutes the most classic instance of unfolding and evaluating orchestration its full discussion is postponed till chapter 6. For the purposes of the present discussion it suffices to outline the general tendencies in the data with regard to tense continuity and shift at transitional locations.

The overwhelming finding regarding the devices' use for stanza demarcation is that SC favour tense continuity significantly more than SA; in other words, they depend less on shifting tenses for marking the passage to a new narrative segment. The following mean percentages of stanza-initial tense continuity in the basic and free

corpus are revealing: BSA: 42.6% - BSC: 53.7% ($t=2.27$, $df=19$, $p<.05$), FSA: 34.9% - FSC: 48.8% ($t=2.36$, $df=58$, $p<.05$). Thus, so far, SC compared to SA appear to combine their increased use of stanza-demarcatory discourse markers with a predilection for tense continuity. As already mentioned, further insights into the co-operation of these devices were gained by looking into the unfolding function of markers in the corpus of written stories. This proved to be a fruitful operation. The findings in written data which cast new light on the interconnectivity of oral stories are as follows:

- a. Coordinating and conjoining markers significantly decrease as demarcatory devices (see table 6 above); the task of macrosegmentation is handled primarily by temporal adverbials and preposed adverbial clauses and in the case of WSA by fronted constructions: specifically, 15% of the stanza-initial lines in WSA present a fronted prepositional phrase as opposed to only 3% in WSC.
- b. The main unfolding choices in written stories can be summed up in the intense reliance on markers of sequentiality (see table 6 above) and on tense continuity: WSA: 56.6% (of the stanza-initiations) - WSC: 52.4%.

Except for the coordinating and conjoining markers which are strongly associated with oral stories, the rest of the findings above suggest that (oral) SC present an affinity with written stories and lie somewhere half-way between them and (oral) SA. Specifically, they are affiliated with written stories in that the unfolding function of their markers combines the need for explicit passage from one textual segment to the other with a sense of continuity and paratactic sequentiality. The former is evidenced in their explicit temporal text strategy and persistent "anchoring in time" at stanza-boundaries. The latter is reflected in their adherence to tense continuity which instantiates a strategy of smooth transition from one segment boundary to the other. Thus, the difference between SA and SC in their unfolding function can be now stated as follows: in SA we can detect a strategy of enhancing discontinuity and contrast

with the prior context; in SC there is a preference for indexing the prior context and emphasising continuity with it. This still general and tentative finding will be consolidated in Part B of this chapter and later in chapter 6.

4.4.3 Unfolding Through Markers Exemplified

To make the discussion so far more concrete, this section will present three stories. The two first ones come from the free corpus and they were addressed to adult(s) and child-addressee(s) respectively. The third one is from the written corpus and is included here as a *tertium comparationis* which will illuminate the differences between the two oral stories:

(48) **Oral story for adults:** The setting for this story is Athens airport where three females, namely Maria, Aggeliki, and Alexandra, and two men, namely Andreas and Dionysis, all friends, are having coffee before catching their flight to London. This story from Maria is a response to Aggeliki's personal narrative of a past assault:

*egho mia fora emina apo venzini stin
Akadhimias/*

I (emphatic) ran out of petrol once in
Akadhimias street/

*ke leo pu na treho tora spiti me taxi/
ke na sikonome tin alli mera/*

and I say (to myself) what should I do/
should I bother looking for a taxi now/
and I had to get up next morning/

*stamatao kapon tipo/ tu leo tha me
voithisete sas parakalo me to
aftokinito/ mu lei ne/*

I catch a lift from some guy/ I tell him
will you please help me/ he says yes/

[an ine dhinato]

[well this is something (lit: "if this is
possible": common backchannelling
signal]

*me voithai o tipos/ ke mu lei mipo
thelis na se pao se venzinadhiko ki
afta/ me mini egho tora kafto/*

the guy sorts me out/ and he tells me
do you want me to get you to a filling
station and stuff like that/ me wearing
now a hot mini skirt/

*beno sto aftokinito/ ke pos na to pexo/
thelo na to pexo parthenopi/tu leo i
dhiki mu ehune anisihisi poli/*

I get into the car/ and how should I
play it/ I want to pretend I am pure as
snow/ I tell him my parents must be
worried sick/

(he he)

*ki ehun anisihisi para poli/ ke tha me
perimenune ki afta/ ke prepi na ghiriso
spiti ghiati tha idhopiisun astinomies/*

*iha vghi me ikogheniakus filus/ ke tha
arhisun na telefonun stus ikogheniakus
filus/ i ikogheniaki fili tha pune pos
efigha ki afta/ ki oti dhen eho ftasi
akoma spiti kelipa/*

*ke na kano tetia/ alla na kathome ki
arahti/ xeris as pume to tsigharo/*

*mepiane re pedhi mu to sekleti pu
emina apo venzini/ mepiane to ghamoto
dhiladhi/ re ghamoto emina apo venzini
vradhiatika tris i ora/*

*aftos na me kitazi/ iha vali mini tora/
to palto sta podhia/ (gesture)*

*me ta hilia zoria ftanume spiti mu/ tu
leo na me stamatisi mia polikatikia pio
prin/ dhen xero fovithika ekini tin ora/*

*mu lei tha se xanadho/ leo poli tha to
thela ghiati se sibatho para poli/ alla
xeris dhe boris na mu telefonisis sto
spiti mu ghiati i dhiki mu ine poli
afstiri/*

[elliniki tenia tu exida]

ne ke ine para poli afstiri/ ma para

(he he)

(ellipsis for "I say") and they must be
worried sick/ and they'll be waiting for
me/ and I must go back home before
they call the police/

(still part of the direct speech) I was
out with family friends/ and they
(ellipsis for "my parents") will start
calling the family friends/ the family
friends will tell them that I had already
left/ and how come I am not home yet
and so on/

I was saying stuff like that/ but I was
sitting pretty at the same time/ you
know enjoying a cigarette/

it bugged me getting stuck on the road/
it really pissed me off/ damn I ran out
of petrol at three o'clock in the
morning (ellipsis for "I was going")/

he glaring at me like that/ I had a mini
skirt on now/ (gesture) but I covered
my legs with my jacket (lit ellipsis: the
jacket on my legs)/

we get home/ I tell him to drop me off
one block of flats before mine/ I don't
know why but I got scared at that
point/

he tells me will I see you again/ I tell
him I'd love it cos I like you a lot/ but
you know you can't call me home cos
my parents are really strict (ironically
said)/

[like a greek movie of the sixties]
(famous for portraying the particular
type of woman that the narrator makes
fun of)

yes they are very very strict/ extremely

poli afstiri/ ke alla tetia/

strict/ and things like that (ellipsis for "I tell him")/

*me kitaze o anthropos/ su lei ti fruto
ine afto/*

the guy was looking at me like this/ he
says (to himself) she is an odd one (lit:
what kind of fruit is this)/

(he he)

(he he)

[an ine dhinato]

[this is something]

The unfolding "style" of construction of the above story heavily relies on devices other than stanza-initial discourse markers: characteristically, there are no temporal adverbials or adverbial clauses. The only marker employed as stanza-demarcatory is "ke" but its use is restricted in only four of the eleven stanzas (excluding the abstract). On the whole, the demarcatory force and the macroorganisational structuring of the story lies in unfolding devices which have not been discussed yet, such as the alternations between segments of action and speech, the shifts into the "na+past progressive" construction (e.g. "*ke na kano tetia*": and (me) saying stuff like that, "*aftos na me kitazi*": he glaring at me, see discussion in ch 5), and the switches of the narratorial camera from one character to the other (see part B of this chapter), to mention only three. The effect of the orchestration of these devices is a rapid tempo consisting of perspectival shifts which enhance the passage to the new textual segments. The same unfolding strategy is illustrated in our reference story of "**Forty Five Johnnies**" (example 16), where only 16 of the story's 34 stanzas are initiated by a discourse marker. Furthermore, of these 16 stanzas only 4 are initiated by a marker other than the oral-based continuatives "lipon" and "telos padon" (anyway) and the coordinating "ke". As will be seen in more detail later on, the story's global segmentation strategy exploits the unfolding power of devices such as tense and referential shifts as well as shifts from action to speech. Close inspection of the rest of SA that have been exemplified so far points to this strategy of unfolding, as well.

(49) **Oral story for children:** The setting is a nameday dinnerparty (notice that namedays in Greece are celebrated as much as birthdays in the rest of Europe). Dhimitris (ie the narrator), aged 26, is a friend of the son of the party's hostess and

his audience comprises Marianna and Andreas, aged eight, who are both family friends and well-acquainted with Dhimitris. The story occurs as part of a conversation about an animal movie that Marianna had recently watched (the whole story can be found in the Appendix, ex. 10):

*... lipon ki itane ena skilaki to opio to
meghalosa apo mikro/ eghe emena stin
Patra palia/ ke tora meno stin
Kalamata/ ke ton meghalosa/*

*ki epidhi dhen iha horo na ton paro
sto spiti mu/ eno stin Patra ihe avli /
ke ton iha ke ghirnaghe/ ton pigha sto
spiti mu/ spiti pu menun i ghonis mu/*

*lipon ton pigha spiti mu to kalokeri/
ton afisa eki/ ke efigha/*

*ke tora xanapigha na dho tus ghonis
mu/ na dho ke to skilo/ ke na peraso
Hristughenna mazi tus/*

*ke to vradhi lipon pu pigha sto spiti/
tus rotisa pu ine o Gorbi/ Gorbi ton
lene ton skilo/ apo to Gorbatsos an
ehete akusi kamia fora/ to idhio onoma
ehi/*

*lipon rotisa pu ine o Gorbi/ mu lene
edho ine/ leo tha ton paro na ton pao
volta/*

*alla meta me apasholisane i dhiki mu/
ela mesa na se dhume/ aston Gorbi
tora na ta pume/ ke to na ke tallo/ ke
xehasa na ton pao/*

*meta otan thimithika ke vghika exo na
ton vro/ pu pighe o skilos/ puthena/*

*tote arhisa na psahno/ epsaxa apo dho
apo ki/ puthena o skilos/*

*... so he was a little dog and I have
raised him/ I lived in Patra then/ and
now as you know I live in Kalamata/
and I have raised him/*

*and because I no longer have any
room for him/ while my house in Patra
had a yard/ and he could run around/ I
took him home to my parents/*

*so I took him home last summer/ I left
him there/ and then I left/*

*and now I went back home to see my
parents/ to see the dog as well/ to
spend Christmas with them/*

*so at the evening I arrived home I
asked them where is Gorbi/ Gorbi is
the name of the dog/ after Gorbachev
if you have ever heard about him/ he's
got the same name/*

*so I asked where is Gorbi/ they tell me
he is here/ I say I'll take him for a
walk/*

*but then my parents delayed me/
(ellipsis for "they told me") come and
let's have a look at you/ don't worry
about Gorbi/ and that kind of thing/
and I forgot all about him/*

*and later when I went to find him/ I
couldn't find him anywhere/ the dog
was just gone/ (lit: where was the dog/
nowhere to be found)*

*then I started looking for him/ I looked
everywhere/ the dog was nowhere to be
seen/*

*tin alli mera to proi pighame sto
ktima/ ke ton vrikame eki to skilo/ ihe
pai eki/*

*lipon ton fonaxa to skilo mu/ ke dhen
erhotan katholu/ o skilos me idhe ke
dhen erhotan katholu/*

*ti ihe ghini/ eghe otan tu eleghe na
pame volta stin patra ton pighena/
dhen ton koroidheva pote/*

*ki aftos omos katalavene oti tha
pighename volta/ mu ferne to luri o
idhios/ ton edhena ghiati ton eperna
apo to luri/ ke ton pighena volta/*

*alla afti ti fora ton koroidhepsa/ ke
dhen ton pigha/ ki o skilos thimose/...*

next morning we went to the field/
and this is where we found the dog/
he'd gone to the field/

so I called his name/ and he didn't
come to me/ the dog saw me and
didn't come to me at all/

what had happened/ all the previous
times that I had told my dog that I'd
walk him I'd indeed had/ I'd never
cheated him/

and he knew when we'd go for a walk/
he'd bring me the leash himself/ and
I'd put it around his neck/ and I'd walk
him/

but this time I wasn't honest with
him/ and I didn't walk him/ and the
dog was mad at me/...

The comparison of (49) to (48) above shows the explicit encoding of the former's temporal text-strategy. Specifically, of the fourteen stanzas of example 49 eight are introduced by a temporal specifier. At the same time they are accompanied by motion verbs and spatial expressions (e.g. I took him home, I went back home, I arrived home, we went to the field). A stage-setting spatiotemporal specification is a typical stanza-opening device in SC. By contrast, as can be seen in story 48, this specification is normally couched in motion verbs which realise a tense shift into the Historical Present without any preceding marker (e.g. we get into the car, we get home). In (49), the use of stanza-initial markers as chunking devices at every single stanza realises a strategy of sequentiality and explicit signposting. Thus, compared to (48), the pace of the story is more slow and packaged, as textual segments are smoothly added up like cautious steps taken one after the other towards the final shaping of the story's unfolding. A major contribution to this end comes from the continuity of the story's action line whose main vehicle is the adherence to the past tense. The only noticeable shift is an aspectual contrast set up in the last three stanzas before the coda between the habitual "imperfect" (he knew..., he'd bring...) and the "aorist" (but this time... I

didn't walk him), which can nevertheless be treated as a further means for enhancing the temporal strategy: the contrast essentially presents the story's events as different from what usually happened, thus underscoring their definiteness and uniqueness in the past.

(50) **Written story:** Due to practical limitations, following is only a segment of the CA of the two-page long story. The story relates the sensational experience of the narrator's wife during childbirth:

... Kapia stighmi idha ti ghineka tu ghiatru na pernai kapu eki apo to ghrafio./ Etrexa me kakes dhiathesis/ leghodas tis agrhriemenos opos imun apo ti siberifora tu ghiatru/ tis ipa i ora ine ennea/ pu ine o ghiatros/ etsi afinun mia ghineka se tetia katastasi na ipoferi oli nihta?/.

Meta dhio lepta katevike o ghiatros viastikos/ pighe sto hirurghio./ Prospathise ghia kati kalo/ alla tipota./

Vghenodas exo me ena vamvaki sti miti tu ghemato emata/ me kitaxe siginitika ke mu ipe/ file Dino dhen pame kala/ to pedhi tha to hasume/ alla tha prospathiso na ghlitoso ti ghineka./

Pragmati apo kini ti stighmi ke meta kathise sinehia mesa./ Afto pu ekane itan na prospathisis me ta iparhoda tote mesa na epispepsi ton toketo/ ghiati allios to pedhi tha pethene sighura./

Se mia stighmi akusa mia toso dhinati dhiaperastiki ki adhiakopi foni apo ti ghineka mu pu itan adhinato na adexo...

... At some point I saw the doctor's wife walking by the office/. I ran in a fury/ telling her in a tone of anger resulting from the doctor's behaviour/ I told her it's nine o'clock/ where is the doctor/ my wife has been in there all night half-dead/.

Two minutes later the doctor came down in a hurry/ and he went into the surgery/. He did his best but to no avail./

Coming out of the surgery with a piece of cotton wool in his nose which was full of blood (because of trying so hard)/ he looked at me compassionately and he told me/ my friend Dinos the situation is getting out of hand/ we'll have to forget about the baby/ but I'll try and save the woman/.

Indeed from this point onwards he was constantly in the surgery./ He obviously tried to speed the labour with all the existing means/ otherwise the child would certainly die./

At a moment I heard a loud penetrating and heartbreaking scream from my wife that I couldn't stand...

(next stanza) *Kapu eki vriskotane i pethera mu/ alla eghe ilikrina dhen tin evlepa...*

(next stanza) *Efthase i ora mia to mesimeri ki opos skeptomun se mia ghonia...*

(next stanza) *Amesos etrexa anixa tin porta...*

(next stanza) *Meta apo ligha dhefterolepta sinilthe...*

(next stanza) *Istera apo ligha lepta meteferan mana ke kori...*

(next stanza-initiation) **Somewhere around** was my mother-in-law but I sincerely couldn't see her...

(next stanza) **At one o'clock sharp** as I was sitting there in agony...

(next stanza) **I immediately** ran and opened the door...

(next stanza) **A few moments later** she came round...

(next stanza) **A few moments later** (after a short while) they took the mother and the child...

Dinos G., WSA

A comparison of the three stories confirms the view stated in §4.4.2 on the basis of the data analysis that (oral) SC lie closer towards the pole of written style of unfolding in terms of their stanza-initial markers. Their most evident affinity is the explicit temporal text-strategy which is employed par excellence in written stories. As can be seen from the example above, every new textual segment presents a temporal specification (except for the spatial expression "kapu eki": somewhere around) mostly in the form of a fronted temporal adjunct. This, as in SC, is paired with a strategy of tense continuity. The result of both is an unfolding style which favours establishing a strong connection with what has come before when moving to the new segment. The only conspicuous difference between the oral story for children and the written story again confirms the finding about the orality-associated nature of the macroconnectors "ke" and "lipon". The two markers are absent from the written story.

4.4.4 Discourse Markers and the Macrosegmentation of Highpoint-Analytic Categories

The count of stanza-initial markers was complemented by the coding of markers which signal the passage to each story's CA, climax and coda (or ending in the form

of a resolution). Cases of ending at the high point narratives were naturally not coded for the demarcation of their ending. The motivation underlying this second quantitative analysis was to fully capture the unfolding function of markers by investigating their role at the transition to the three major narrative parts of a story, namely the beginning, peak point and ending of its timeline. The passage to the CA and the coda were specifically chosen as representatives of a major break in terms of shifting into the main event-line and out of it respectively. As for the passage to the climax, as already discussed (see §2.4.3), it constitutes a *locus classicus* for looking into a story's unfolding since it signals the initiation point of its "zone of turbulence".

The qualitative analysis of these three transition points in terms of the discourse markers signalling them led to the following categories of coding: a. no marker, b. "ke" (and), "lipon" and other coordinating and conjoining markers, c. temporal adverbial and d. adverbial clause. The decision to sum up coordinating and conjoining markers with "ke" and "lipon" in one category was based on the predominance of these two markers compared to the rest. The overall finding of the quantitative analysis was that SC present a stronger predilection for signalling the passage to these narrative parts with one of the above categories of connectives compared to SA (see table 7 at the end of this section). This finding is readily compatible with the unfolding choices pertinent to discourse markers at stanza-boundaries that were reported in §4.4.2. There, SA were found to assign a great deal of their macrosegmentation to the device of tense shifting at the expense of explicit signposting by means of (mainly) temporal markers.

However, the next overwhelming finding (see table 7) of the present analysis is incompatible with the unfolding choices at stanza-initiation point: specifically, coordinating and conjoining markers are significantly less popular devices for the demarcation of CA, climax and coda. By contrast, the category of temporal adverbials has the lion's share. This difference can be explained by the nature of the passage to these parts: the passage to the CA and to the coda signal the entry into and exit from the story's timeline respectively and are thus more likely to be demarcated by

temporal adverbials. Likewise, the passage to the climax is more likely to opt for a temporal marker as a device for explicitly signposting the "turbulence" that it introduces within the story's timeline. More specific findings with respect to each of the parts emerge in the case of the passage to the CA and to the climax. To begin with the passage to the CA, SC present a predilection for the use of preposed adverbial clauses for its demarcation (see table 7 below). These adverbial clauses mostly exemplify the "*schema of incidence*" type of initiation of a story's action, according to which "*an ongoing state or activity*" (in our case encoded by the adverbial clause) "*is interrupted or crossed by an event that occurs from the outside and affects the ongoing situation*" (Fludernik 1992b: 119): e.g.

(51) ... *eki omos pu kathomun ena apoghevma ke taiza to meghalo mu pedhi/ htipise xafnika to telefono/...*

... but as I was sitting and feeding my older child one afternoon/ the telephone suddenly rang...

Maria H., BSA

By contrast, in SA the macrosegmentation task is once again handed over to tense shifting (see ch 6) and in particular to the shift to the HP. The second finding pertains to the climax whose onset presents a significantly smaller occurrence of a marker compared to the onset of CAs and codas (in particular in the case of SA). This is partially attributable to the use of tense shift for the demarcation of climax (see ch 6). In addition though, it is related to the fact that the onset of the climax as a rule involves a passage from the timeline to the timeline, since the climax is part of the main storyline. By contrast, the passage to the CA and to the coda establish different connections, namely a shift into and out of the timeline respectively. This difference, though seemingly unrelated to the choice of markers, was found to bear a relevance to the demarcation devices. Specifically, Peterson & McCabe (1991) suggested that in their data simple juxtaposition, ie absence of a connective, is a commoner type of linkage between timeline events than between timeline and off-the-timeline events. The above findings are illustrated in table 7 below.

		No Marker	Coord/ Conjoin.	Temp. Adv.	Adv. Line
BSA	CA	25	25	40	10
	Climax	61.9	5.1	33	0
	Coda	27	23	50	0
BSC	CA	0	25	45	30
	Climax	25.3	8.3	50.1	16.3
	Coda	5.5	27.4	50.4	16.7
FSA	CA	31	22.2	38.5	8.3
	Climax	60.8	3.9	27.4	7.8
	Coda	37.5	27.2	35.3	0
FSC	CA	4.3	17.4	56.5	21.7
	Climax	24	6	50	20
	Coda	8.7	36.8	41.8	12.7

Table 7: Percentages of Markers at the Onset of Complicating Action, Climax and Coda

4.5 Markers and Evaluative Functioning

As seen in §4.1.1, the latest discourse-analytic approaches to markers mostly emphasise their discourse-organising and structuring role, that is, in our terms, their unfolding functioning. Emphasis has also been placed on their interactional and interpersonal aspects in the sense of signalling speaker-hearer relations (participation framework) and of marking exchange structures (ie turn-taking mechanisms) in conversational contexts (e.g. Schiffrin 1987). By contrast, the same emphasis does not apply to their evaluative function which has been far from underscored. Of the corpus of narrative markers discussed here, only evidentiality and affect markers and causal clauses have been treated as evaluative in narrative models of evaluation (see ch 5). Close inspection and analysis of the data at hand upheld the view that markers are

essentially a major unfolding device, that is, an exponent of the stories' global segmentation strategy. Their evaluative uses in the texts are so restricted that they do not allow for their characterisation as "complex" devices that manifest an orchestrated function at both the unfolding and the evaluative levels of narrative construction. Thus, within the framework of the present discussion, the contribution of markers to the establishment of a story's perspective or point of view which has been reported as one of their textual effects (see Rudolph 1988: 105ff) is taken to be channelled through their unfolding function.

4.6 Summary

The above discussion, following the chapter on the culturally-determined tripartite patterning of binding/unfolding in MG stories (ch 3), moved one step ahead towards uncovering their web of macroorganisational relations by looking into linkage types and markers. The overwhelming finding regarding MG storytelling in general was its reliance on the two markers of "ke" and "lipon" for its macrosegmentation which proved to be associated with oral delivery. The rest of the findings of the binding and unfolding analyses essentially disclosed the context-bound aspects of the function of the devices examined. Specifically, they brought to the fore a **strategy of paratactic sequentiality and conjoinability** in the SC underlying their increased use of discourse markers and their explicit temporal text-strategy. By contrast, the reduced use of markers as explicit signposts of new textual segments in SA was motivated by a strategy of **salient segmentational shifts and discontinuity** mainly realised by tense shift. At this stage these findings are not sufficiently powerful evidence to allow us to safely construct a full picture of the text-constitutive mechanisms in operation in SA vs SC. However, they do delineate a tendency in the SC according to which their unfolding strategies present an interesting affinity with those of the written-based model of narration. This leaves SA, for reasons which will gradually become clear, figuring as more representative of what can be defined as "orality-associated" norms of MG storytelling.

PART B

4.7 Participant Tracking

4.7.1 Referential Choice and the Cognitive vs Discourse Factors Opposition

This part further elucidates the construction of unfolding relations in the data by moving to the discussion of participant tracking. The term covers the set of referential patterns and devices by which the characters of a text (here, of a narrative) are introduced, re-identified and established in the body of the narrative. Participant tracking both in view of the relevant literature and of the situation in the data is a vital exponent of a story's micro- and macro-segmentational strategy.

To begin with a short review of the literature, in discourse cohesion studies participant tracking has been extensively employed as a means of discovering narrative organisation. Its vital role in determining a narrative's thematic relations is reflected in the fact that it coincides in numerous studies with the concept of topic/theme (e.g. Flaschner 1987, Givón 1983, 1987, 1992, also see discussion in Schlobinski & Schutze-Coburn 1992). On the whole, discourse studies of participant tracking in narrative have placed their main emphasis on accounting for the motivations that underlie the choice between explicit forms of reference (nominal reference) and inexplicit forms of reference (pronominal reference or elliptical/zero-reference, depending on the language resources). The relevant lines of research have led to the identification of two categories of factors underlying referential patterning: *cognitive factors* and *discourse-pragmatic factors*. The former category explains referential choice in terms of constraints that apply to both the addresser's and the addressee's cognitive abilities, whereas the latter comprises discourse structures and functions involved in making up a text's anaphoric patterning. In particular, approaches to reference based on cognitive factors (e.g. Givón's work as the classic instance: 1983, 1987, 1992) account for the choice of an explicit vs an inexplicit form of reference in terms of its distance to the last mention of the referent and the intervening referents (risk of ambiguity). Alternatively, looking for the discourse factors that affect reference involves the study of macro-level devices or discourse strategies and

functions of the discourse structure (e.g. Hinds 1977, Grimes 1975, Clancy 1980, 1992, Fox 1987a, 1987b). The main argument of proponents of "discourse factors" against the inadequacy of cognitive-oriented approaches to reference can be summed up as follows:

they assume that discourse is made up of an undifferentiated string of clauses which follow one another in time but do not form larger units that could perform communicative function in relation to one another

Fox 1987b: 158

A corollary of this assumption is that they "*cannot account for all referential choices*" (Clancy 1980: 143): for instance, they cannot account for cases in which "*something like eleven clauses separate the two mentions of a character and yet the second mention is done with a pronoun*" (idem: 161), contrary to any predictions made about the role of distance.

The rationale underlying the study of "cognitive factors" and of "discourse factors" of referential choice in narratives as well as the "separationist" tendency between the two camps can be readily translated into the binding-unfolding scheme of investigating narrative relations as conceptualised here. Looking into referential patterning in terms of measures of distance and interference which characterises the "cognitive factors" approach can be treated as an instance of binding-level analysis. What is missing from this type of analysis is considerations of nonlinear textual codification (ie the vertical axis of organisation) with respect to anaphora. Factors such as "*world-shifts*" (Clancy 1980, see §4.8.3) and discourse units' demarcation that have been put forward as complementary to cognitive factors essentially embrace the text's macroorganisational dynamics along its vertical axis. As already suggested, the main contention of discourse analysts who put forth these factors is that their neglect results in a limited and impoverished account of referential choice in narratives which cannot capture the intricate interplay of numerous factors. This argument is again applicable to the relation of the binding-unfolding levels of narrative texts. A comprehensive account of any aspect of narrative construction needs to crosscut the interlocking systems of

micro- and macro-level organisation instead of relying exclusively on either one. The difference between the literature and the following discussion of participant reference in the data is that the latter, by using the binding-unfolding pairing as its starting point, does not enter the debate on which factors should be focused upon for a full account of participant reference; instead, it treats the integration of binding and unfolding as a prerequisite for the device's study. Thus, the discussion will move from the constraints of the local context (binding-level) to the discourse factors that regulate the device's unfolding function.

4.7.2 Forms of Reference in Modern Greek

To make the discussion accessible to non-native Greek speakers, the options available in the MG system of referring need to be mentioned first. MG, being a pro-drop language, differs from languages like English which basically rely on nominal and pronominal reference, in that its common alternative to nominal reference is ellipsis (zero-anaphora), rather than pronouns. The reason for this is that the subject of a sentence can be deleted altogether if its identity is recoverable from the context, since the verb's inflection is capable of indicating the subject's person: e.g.

(52) ... *ke ti ton piani to Ghianni/ **pai** na stripsi dhexia/...*

and I don't know what's gotten into John/ **turns** to the right (ellipsis for "he", that is, "John")....

Panos G., FSA

Thus, ellipsis is not only possible in MG, but it is actually the most frequent and ordinary form of attenuated reference. Subject pronominal reference is an intermediate form of reference in terms of explicitness, more explicit than ellipsis in that it indicates gender in addition to case and number and obviously less explicit than full noun phrases (NPs). In terms of markedness, subject pronouns also stand midway along the markedness continuum: when zero-anaphora is expected or permitted, the choice of a pronoun is marked, but less marked than the choice of a full NP. The system of personal pronouns in MG comprises stressed (emphatic/disjunctive)

pronouns and non-emphatic pronouns or clitics. The latter are unstressed monosyllables which function as the most attenuated form of reference in cases of object referents, with stressed pronouns and full NPs being the other two more explicit alternatives: e.g. "*tu ipa*" (lit: him[clitic] I said), "*ipa safton*" (I said to him: pronoun), "*ipa ston patera mu*" (I said to my father: NP). The emphatic and clitic forms of MG personal pronouns are shown in Figures 2a and 2b below (adapted from Mackridge 1985: 246):

	1st Sing	2nd Sing	3rd Sing	1st Plural	2nd Plural	3rd Plural
Nominative	egho	esi	aftos-i- o	emis	esis	afti-es-a
Genitive	emena	esena	aftu-is- u	emas	esas	afton
Accusative	emena	esena	afton-i- o	emas	esas	aftus-es- a

Figure 2a: Emphatic Forms of MG Personal Pronouns

	1st Sing	2nd Sing	3rd Sing	1st Plural	2nd Plural	3rd Plural
Nomin	-	-	tos-i-o	-	-	ti-es-a
Genit	me	se	tu-is-u	mas	sas	ton
Accus	mu	su	ton-i-o	mas	sas	tus-es-a

Figure 2b: Clitic Forms of MG Personal Pronouns

4.7.3 Defining the Participant

The first step before coding the stories for their participant tracking was the identification of what constitutes a participant. The choice was not free from problems,

as is the case in all relevant studies. The criterion employed was adopted from Bamberg (1987: 12) according to whom the notion of character can comprise all human and non-human referents that contribute thematically to the plot-development and advance the flow of the narrative. Though, as Bamberg suggested, purely descriptive or predicative statements can move the plot forward as well, referents which are eligible for characters as a rule co-occur with transitive action verbs.

Naturally, despite the fact that non-human entities were by definition eligible for the definition of participant in the data, by far the commonest were human characters. Most of these human characters were, due to the nature of the stories' content (see §2.3.3.1), persons from the narrator's family. Thus, the NPs which introduce these characters almost without exception designate kinship terms (role NPs) followed by the possessive "*mu*" (*my*) which signals the relationship to the narrator: e.g. *i mitera mu* (my mother). This is an adequate mode of character introduction for the characters' unique identification in the story. As a result, relative clauses and other modifying phrases are normally missing in the characters' initial introduction.

4.7.4 Participant Tracking at Binding-Level

4.7.4.1 Frequency of Referential Forms

The count of the instances of the three forms of participant reference in the data, ie of the NPs, ellipsis and pronouns, formed the primary quantitative measure of their binding-level function. Since the default form of first-person reference is that of ellipsis and only in some cases (see §4.8.5) that of pronouns, this count covered only cases of co-referential forms employed for third-person participants. As table 8 below shows, the predominant result of this measure is the audience-related difference in the use of explicit vs inexplicit forms of reference. Specifically, BSA favour ellipsis significantly more than BSC ($t=2.19$, $df=19$, $p<.05$) which manifest a predilection for explicit forms of reference: this is reflected in the frequency of both nominal and pronominal reference. The finding is in accordance with the binding-level results of connectivity relations. There too, "explicit" types of line-linkage were favoured more in SC. However, both findings alone, ie without reference to macro-level factors, are

hardly illuminating except for bringing to the fore a general micro-level tendency for greater explicitness in SC. From a cognitive point of view, it is also difficult to assess this tendency: the facilitation of unambiguous reference provided by explicit forms is counterbalanced by the increase in the cognitive effort that their decoding requires since they are marked and structurally more complex (Givón 1992: 25).

The study of written stories revealed that opting for explicit referential forms is a strategy characteristic of their literate-based model of narration. Specifically, nominal reference significantly increases in both written WSA ($t=3.16$, $df=19$, $p<.01$) and WSC ($t=2.11$, $df=19$, $p<.05$) at the expense of ellipsis (see table 8 below). This tendency for increased explicitness accords with the standard view in the literature that written language is prototypically more "*decontextualised*" (Olson 1977) or "*detached*" (Chafe 1982, i.e. independence of external context, lack of paralanguage, absence of the addressee). What is important about the referential patterning of written stories for the present discussion is that it adds to a series of findings gradually unravelled in this chapter and in chapter 5, according to which SC present an affinity with the unfolding "tapestry" of written stories so as to lie somewhere half-way between oral SA and written stories.

	BSA	BSC	WSA	WSC
NPs	21.4	30.6	34.3	35.7
Ellipsis	59.1	43.3	39.9	37.8
Pronouns	19.5	26.1	25.7	26.5

Table 8: Mean Percentages of Third-Person Coreferential Forms

4.7.4.2 Referential Choice Linearly: An Overview of "Cognitive Constraints"

The classic "binding-level" approach to reference is Givón's work (1983, 1987, 1992) in which reference is used as a tool for the understanding of the linguistic coding of

"topic". The concept topic means no more in this framework, than "entity" or "participant" involved in the state of affairs designated by the sentence. Givón claimed (1983: 17) that the amount of coding which a constituent receives is "*inversely analogous to the degree of topicality*" it possesses; the degree of topicality is computed on the basis of the three parameters of *referential distance* (distance between two mentions of a referent), *persistence of reference* (ie of a co-referential form in the subsequent context) and *interference* (presence of other referents). Givón's discussion of the topicality of a constituent is summed up in the "*Continuity Hypothesis*", which states that "*the more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it*" (idem). As a result, one would expect that, in terms of forms of reference, the scale from the least predictable to the most predictable topic would go like this: zero-anaphora, clitic pronouns, stressed pronouns, full noun phrases.

The parameters which in Givón's study measure the impact of cognitive constraints on referential choice, namely referential distance, persistence of reference and interference, were adopted for the binding-level analysis of the present data. More specifically, the analysis employed Clancy's (1980) adaptation of Givón's coding of the effect of time and interference on the distribution of coreferential forms. The measurements of this coding are: i) the number of lines separating two mentions of the same referent, ii) the number of stanzas separating the two mentions, and iii) the number of other referents intervening between the two referents. In Clancy's data, measurement ii. involves the unit of a sentence, which is not employed in the segmentation procedures applied to the data at hand, and was thus replaced by our unit of stanza. In these three measurements number "0" indicates re-mention of the referent in the same line or stanza, and with no intervening referents, while number "1" indicates that the second mention of the referent takes place in the line or stanza immediately following the one with the first mention and/or that there is one intervening referent: e.g.

(53) ... *o babas mu pada ehi provlima*
me ta nosokomia/ ke dhe beni pote

... my dad always has a problem with
hospitals/ and never enters them

<i>mesa (ellipsis for "o babas mu": 1(line), 0(stanza), 0(referents))/ ki ine i mama pu pada sinodhevi/</i>	(ellipsis for "my dad": 1(line), 0(stanza), 0(referents))/ and it's my mother who always escorts/
<i>ke thimame oti kathotan exo (ellipsis for "o babas mu": 2(lines), 1(stanza), 1(referent))...</i>	and I remember that he was sitting outside (ellipsis for "my dad": 2(lines), 1(stanza), 1(referent))

Virginia F., BSA

The first finding concerning the frequency of the referential forms with respect to the three measures selected in the data is that inexplicit forms of reference present a higher concentration in "0" and "1" than explicit forms of reference (see table 9(a-d) below). In particular ellipsis, the most attenuated form of reference, normally occurs in all types of narratives and with striking regularity within the immediately following line or same stanza as the last mention of the referent or with no intervening referents (see again table 9(a-d) for the percentages of ellipsis in these positions). The finding was in many respects expected, since the standard view is that, cognitively speaking, inexplicit referential forms are subjected to greater constraints by the factors of time and interference (see Givón 1992: 25).

Pronouns, being a less attenuated form of reference than ellipsis, tolerate more the lapse of lines, stanzas and referents: they are almost equally distributed between the positions 1 and 2-4 as regards the lapse of lines; the great majority of them also occur within the same or following stanza from the last mention of the referent, and with no intervening referents or after one referent (see table 9(a-d)). NPs, being the most explicit referential form, are the ones on which the least cognitive constraints are exerted. This is why they normally occur after two-to-four lines or one stanza after the last mention of the referent, or with at least one intervening referent.

SC compared to SA once again exhibit a greater percentage of explicit reference (also see §4.7.4.1) and a greater proportion of NPs closer to their antecedents. In this respect, they again present an affinity with written stories where referential forms tend to occur closer to their antecedents. The above findings are illustrated in Table 9(a,b)

below and 9(c-d)¹ in §4.8.1.

Lines	Noun Phrases	Pronouns	Ellipsis
0	0	1	71
1	11	41	24
2-4	32	50	5
5-10	37	8	0
11+	21	0	0
Stanzas			
0	25	70	80
1	39	26	19
2-4	35	4	1
5+	1	0	0
Intervening Referents			
0	16	7	66
1	32	46	30
2-4	50	47	4
5+	2	0	0

Table 9a: Distribution of Coreferential Forms in BSA with Respect to Time and Interference

As with discourse markers, in order to be able to form a complete picture of the participant tracking choices within the framework of global narrative construction, their relation to the stories' constituency needs to come into play. As already seen, the unit of stanza was employed for the binding-level measurements. However, in these measurements it appeared as an undifferentiated whole. What will be emphasised here as part of the attempt to investigate the unfolding aspects of participant tracking is the stanza boundaries.

¹ For reasons of clarity and brevity, the percentages in the four tables have been rounded to the nearest integer.

Lines	Noun Phrases	Pronouns	Ellipsis
0	0	5	4
1	28	51	76
2-4	39	40	19
5-10	26	3	1
11+	7	0	0
Stanzas			
0	23	67	76
1	54	29	18
2-4	20	4	6
5+	3	0	0
Intervening Referents			
0	25	46	78
1	44	49	17
2-4	30	5	5
5+	1	0	0

Table 9b: Distribution of Coreferential Forms in BSC with Respect to Time and Interference

4.8 Participant Tracking at Unfolding-Level

4.8.1 Switch Reference Devices and Stanza-Demarcation

Discourse studies which can be characterised as "unfolding-level" studies have particularly emphasised the use of referential choices as macrosegmentational devices for the demarcation of discourse units. Specifically, it has been reported that there is a crucial association between the use of an explicit referential form (NP), even in cases when an attenuated form would be clear, and the discourse factor of segmenting units both in narrative and non-narrative texts (e.g. Clancy 1980, Chafe 1980, Flaschner 1987, Fox 1987a, 1987b, Hinds 1977, Levy & Neill 1992, Longacre 1979, Marslen-Wilson et al 1982, Stark 1988 etc). The above association was apparent in the data prior to any specific analyses regarding participant tracking. The use of nominal reference for a character at the initiation of successive stanzas, while an attenuated form of reference would also suffice, is a frequent macrosegmentational

Lines	Noun Phrases	Pronouns	Ellipsis
0	0	3	2
1	21	62	87
2-4	37	33	11
5-10	25	2	0
11+	17	0	0
Stanzas			
0	1	41	67
1	48	44	30
2-4	35	15	3
5+	16	0	0
Intervening Referents			
0	18	55	88
1	43	38	12
2-4	37	7	0
5+	2	0	0

Table 9c: Distribution of Coreferential Forms in WSA with Respect to Time and Interference

device. The following example is particularly illustrative of this choice. The extract is from a story about the narrator's brother-in-law. As will be seen, the use of nominal reference for the character "*Mitsos*" at the beginning of successive stanzas acts as a powerful device of unfolding which indexes the new segment:

(54) ... *ton epiase prostatitis to Mitso/ ke ta fortose ola/ mazepse oti ihe ke dhen ihe ke lei Athina/*

... **Mitsos** had some prostate problems/ and he loaded everything/ packed up all his possessions/ and says Aaathens (elongation)/

en to metaxi pighe o Mitsos stin Athina/ ton pighan sena nosokomio eki na kani enhirisi/ perasane kamia dhekania meres pu prepe na mini eki/ ke tu to vghalane to ghurnoherolemo/

so **Mitsos** went to Athens/ they took him to a hospital for the operation/ he stayed there for about ten days/ and they took out all his plumbing/

ton xanapiase to Mitso o prostatitis/ xanakani enhirisi/ mi mafinete monaho

(but) **Mitsos** had new prostate problems/ he has another operation/

Lines	Noun Phrases	Pronouns	Ellipsis
0	0	8	1
1	20	67	88
2-4	33	25	11
5-10	39	0	0
11+	8	0	0
Stanzas			
0	8	56	66
1	39	44	32
2-4	41	0	2
5+	12	0	0
Intervening Referents			
0	19	48	91
1	42	50	6
2-4	39	2	3
5+	0	0	0

Table 9d: Distribution of Coreferential Forms in WSC
with Respect to Time and Interference

*mu reee/ dhen tin afise tin Evanthia
ikosi meres na fighi biti/ mi mafinete
monaho mu reee/*

(imitating the character's voice) please
don't leave me here alone (ie Mitsos
was going)/ for three weeks he didn't
let Evanthia budge/ please don't leave
me here all alone/

*telos padon telioni ti therapia o
Mitsos...*

anyway **Mitsos** finishes his treatment...

Ilias G., FSA

The initiation of the third stanza above ("but Mitsos had prostate problems") exhibits the phenomenon of *switch (subject) reference*, namely the change of the referent in subject position with respect to that of the previous line (see Clancy 1992: 442), in our case the last line of the previous stanza ("and they took out..."). Switch reference with or without an explicit referential form are two noticeable stanza-initial devices in the data.

In view of the above observations about the strategic positioning of participant tracking devices at stanza-initiation point, each stanza initiation in the stories of both the basic and free corpus was coded for the existence of a switch reference device with an expressed subject (NP or pronoun) or without an expressed subject (ellipsis). This coding was complemented by a much more specific and detailed coding, applied only to the basic corpus, which counted the distribution of specific referential forms employed for maintaining and changing subject referents both within stanzas and at stanza initiations. The first finding that the two counts brought to the fore (see tables 10 and 11 below) confirms the unfolding function of explicit reference as a stanza-initial device: this is that the combination of subject switch with a new stanza boundary is the strongest in eliciting nominal reference while the combination "same subject within the same stanza" is the structure *par excellence* for eliciting ellipsis. Comparably, there are no significant differences between SA and SC regarding participant tracking devices within stanzas, ie where their unfolding function does not forcefully come into play. The differences emerge at stanza-initiations which prove to be the ideal environment for the unfolding function of participant tracking; these are as follows:

- a. Overall, SA favour switch reference devices at stanza initial boundaries significantly more than SC (BSA-BSC: $t=-2.21$, $df=19$, $p<.05$, FSA-FSC: $t=2.26$, $df=58$, $p<.05$. The latter lie once again close to the choices of written stories (table 11).
- b. In terms of specific referential forms, switch reference is a stronger factor in BSA than BSC in eliciting nominal reference for stanza-demarcation ($t=2.31$, $df=19$, $p<.05$, see table 10).
- c. BSA also favour nominal reference more than BSC in the case of preserved subject reference at the beginning of stanzas ($t=2.11$, $df=19$, $p<.05$, see table 10).

		Same Subject		New Subject	
		Same Stanza	New Stanza	Same Stanza	New Stanza
BSA	Ellipsis	90.7	70.7	47.4	40.4
	Pronoun	3.3	4.9	8.0	6.7
	NP	6.0	24.4	44.6	52.8
BSC	Ellipsis	88.2	77.1	48.8	47.8
	Pronoun	5.9	5.7	9.4	11.9
	NP	5.9	17.1	41.7	40.3

Table 10: Percentages of Coreferential Forms Chosen for Maintaining and Switching Subject Reference Within Stanzas and Across Stanza Boundaries

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC	WSA	WSC
Switch Reference	33.5	25.2	35.2	17.3	21.3	26.9
Expressed Sw. Ref.	35.9	26.5	31.4	22.9	28.3	29.2

Table 11: Mean Percentages of Stanza-Initial Lines with Switch Reference Devices

The above findings suggest a more intense reliance of SA on the unfolding uses of participant tracking. Specifically, SA underscore the passage to a new textual segment by means of a switch reference device more than SC; they also employ more the device of overt (nominal) reference as a macrosegmentational device. By contrast, SC fail to fully exploit local-level (binding) choices of participant tracking at the global level (unfolding): while explicit forms of reference are salient at binding level, at the level of macrosegmentation they are not fully made use of.

In view of the above, it is legitimate to suggest that narrative macroorganisation through participant tracking ranks higher in SA than SC. This difference reflects a general **strategy of continuity** (ie same subject reference) and **avoidance of salient demarcation** (ie marked referential choice or switched subject reference) of new textual segments in SC. By contrast, SA exhibit a **strategy of rapid and salient perspectival shifts** from one character to the other (ie switch reference devices) for their macrosegmentation. In other words, the unfolding use of participant tracking in SA fosters a salient shifting/demarcation effect while in SC it serves the strategy of creating more "discrete" and "soft" textual junctures (ie no marked referential forms or salient participant shifts as demarcatory devices). To illustrate this difference, following are two extracts from a story for adults and a story for children respectively. Both are typical of the differentiated unfolding choices regarding participant tracking in SA vs SC:

(55) a. The extract is from a story about the social embarrassment awaiting two "pals" in a luxurious hotel after a game of table tennis:

*... lipon opote leme ade na anevume
pano apo/ en to metaxi ihe dhio portes/
mia apo brosta mia apo piso/ pu
pighene sto asanser katefthian/*

*mu lei o Nikos ela re ti kolonis pame
apo dho/ re Niko tu leo xero gho etsi
opos imaste/ me panina athlitika
paputsia kaltsula maghio ke tipota alo/
xeris tora idhrotas ton idhrota tis zois
mas/*

*anighume tin porta/ ade mu lei o
Nikos/ min kolonis/ bes mesa/ edaxi/*

*mu anighi tin porta/ beno mesa kitazo
apo dho apo ki/ en to metaxi itane tetia
sezon sto xenodhohio pu menane olo
gherodia/*

*ki ihane katevi oli kirile
kustumarismeni/ me tis zaketules tis
lefkes/ xeris ta foremataxia/*

*... so we (ellipsis) say let's go up/
meanwhile there were two entrances/
one in front and another round the
back/ which led directly to the lift/*

*Nikos tells me/ come on whatcha 'fraid
of/ let's go this way/ I don't know
Nikos I tell him/ in this state/ you
know trunks socks and trainers and
nothing else/ and a real sweat/
completely soaked/*

*we (ellipsis) open the door/ come on
Nikos tells me/ go on/ okay (I say)/*

*he (ellipsis) opens the door for me/ I
enter looking all round/ meanwhile it
was that time of the year when all the
geriatrics come out of the woodwork/*

*and they'd all come down well
dressed and proper/ wearing suits/ with
their silly blazers/ you know/ those*

	funny-coloured evening dresses/
[ta hromatakia ta pastel]	(ironically) [nice earth colours]
ne ta orea hromatakia/ kati tetia pramata/	yeah/ nice "little" colours/ that sort of thing/
ke benume emis tora/ idhrota axiristi/ vromaghe idhrotas dhiladhi to mirizame re pedhi mu/	and we (pronominal) come in now/ you know sweaty and unshaven/ the stench was so bad we could smell it ourselves/
pao egho ghrighora/ en to metaxi me to pu pigha eki sti reseptionist me epiase tora to aromataki tis to oreo xeris/ pu irthe katefthian sadithesi me ti boha as pume tis idhrotilas tis dhikis mu/ po po...	I (pronominal) walk quickly/ and get to the receptionist/ and there I got a whiff of her perfume which was a stark contrast to my sweat-smelling/ geez...

Akis G., FSA

As can be seen from the stanza-initiations of the above extract, participant tracking devices play an important role in indexing the passage to the new segment: all six stanzas are initiated by switch reference and three of them are accompanied by explicit referential forms (John tells me, we come in, I walk quickly). These rapid shifts in person deixis create a sense of discontinuity and at the same time render the story's demarcation salient. This strategy is typical of the unfolding style in SA. To provide further evidence, let us go back to our story of "**Forty Five Johnnies**" (example 16). The story's macrosegmentation essentially relies on the combination of switches from one character to the other with salient shifts in the spatiotemporal centre (see §4.8.2 as well). Stanza-initial switch reference demarcates two-thirds of the story's stanzas (24 out of 34 stanzas) and is divided between expressed (11 stanzas) and non-expressed (13 stanzas) referential forms. Furthermore, switch reference and overt (nominal, ie marked) referential choices inform the global segmentation of narrative parts. For instance, the onset of the first climax is marked by a switch reference with expressed subject (Lias brakes hard) while the second climax is initiated by an overt referential form (as George was...). In the same vein, the resolution of the second climax is marked by a shift to "egho-reference" (see §4.8.5).

The relation of the above referential strategy in SA to that in SC is concretised by the juxtaposition of the following extract from a story for children which is illustrative of the sense of paratactic conjoinability that typifies SC. The extract is from a story about a Christmas experience from the narrator's childhood, namely her charity visit with her school to the local prison:

(55) b. ... *lipon ke pragmatika
etimastikame/ ftiaxame orea dhora/
pirame orea ruha adikimenakia tetia
pramata*

... so **we** (ellipsis) were really happy/
we made nice gifts/ took nice clothes
little things/

*pirame lipon ta trighonakia mas ke
pighame sto horo eki ton filakon/ ki
otan perasame ke bikame mesa safto to
horo pu itane i filakismeni/ tote
pragmatika niosame posi anthropi
iparhun ston kosmo me provlimata
dhistihismeni/*

so **we** took our instruments and went to
the prison/ and when we got there and
entered the prison/ we realised how
many troubled and unhappy people
there are in this world/

*pu afto dhen to katalavename prin/
prin perimename ta dhora/ i hara tis
proetimasias tis ghiortis/ stolizame to
dhedro ola afta/*

we were unaware of this before/ we
thought of the gifts/ the fun of
preparing the party/ decorating the tree
and all that/

*ki otan pighame safto to horo/ ki itan
ola ftoha ke dhistihismena/ katalavame
posi dhisthia iparhi ston kosmo/*

and when **we** got there/ and everything
there was so grim/ we realised how
much misery there is in this world/

*afu bikame mesa idhame tus
filakismenus/ prosferame ta ghlika/ tus
dhosame ta dhora/*

after **we**'d gone in we met the people/
we gave them the cakes/ we gave them
the clothes/

*ke thimame posi hara tus dhosame/
poso eftihismenus tus kaname/...*

and I remember how much happiness
we gave them/ how we made them feel
so good...

Evi M., FSC

The difference in macrosegmentation through participant tracking between the two extracts above is noticeable. There is no switch reference device demarcating the different stanzas in extract 55b (except for the I-remember introducer of the last stanza) and additionally no choice of explicit referential form as a stanza-initial device.

The effect created is opposite from that in extract 55a: here the transition from one segment to the other is smooth and indexes continuity with the matrix of connections established in the prior text. The general narratorial choice is filtering the material narrated through the I-character (experiencing self) in a "moment-in-time" mode of delivery (see §2.4.4.1); this choice, typical of SC, is served best by a strategy of continuity underlying the story's participant tracking.

The general discursual strategies shaping participant tracking in (oral) SA vs SC are far from confined and accidental choices; instead, they systematically pattern with the pieces of the puzzle of the stories' unfolding-level choices unravelled so far. The strategy of salient demarcation and shifting in SA as opposed to the strategy of continuity and paratactic sequentiality were also found to underlie the unfolding choices pertaining to connectivity markers. Additionally, as with markers, the two strategies are immediately related to and further illuminated by their combination with the stanza-initial use of tense continuity or shift. This will be discussed below.

4.8.2 Switch Reference and Tense Shift at Stanza-Initiation

The co-occurrence of switch reference (with or without expressed subject) with tense shift as markers of topic discontinuity has been reported about narratives in various languages (e.g. Fleischman 1990, Silva-Corvalan 1983). In the data at hand, their mode of combination as unfolding devices at stanza-boundaries confirms and consolidates the general strategy of continuity emerging for the unfolding of SC, as opposed to the strategy of frequent and salient shifts underlying the unfolding of SA. Specifically, as Table 12 below shows, BSC employ the combination of tense shift with switch reference devices significantly less than BSA ($t=-2.21$, $df=19$, $p<.05$). The same finding applies to the free corpus as well ($t= 2.35$, $df=58$, $p<.05$). Written stories, as expected, behave like SC in this respect. This constitutes striking evidence for the conjoinability style that unfolding presents in SC by contrast to its salient demarcatory power in SA. Examples 55(a) and 55(b) above characteristically exhibited this difference: in example 55(a) all stanza-initial switch reference devices orchestrated with tense shifts (mainly from imperfective past to historical present) to the end of

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC	WSA	WSC
Tense Shift-No SwR	13.8	23.2	17.3	24.9	20.7	19.5
Tense Shift-SwR	42.7	28.2	46.2	25.9	25.4	30.2

Table 12: Mean Percentages of Stanza-Initial Lines
with Switch Reference (SwR) Combined with Tense Shift

enhancing topic discontinuity: e.g. Nikos tells me, we open the door, and they'd all come down, and we come in, I walk. By contrast, in example 55(b) the avoidance of shift in person deixis paired with tense continuity (adherence to past tense within and across stanzas). Typical of the unfolding strategy in SA, the story of **"Forty Five Johnnies"** exemplifies once again what is discussed here. Eighteen out of the twenty four stanzas which are initiated by switch reference also exhibit a tense shift or a shift from action to speech (see ch 6). The two shifts together succeed in creating the effect of salient demarcation of the new segment.

4.8.3 World-Shifts and Participant Tracking: Signalling Change of Footing

As is by now evident, the unfolding function of participant tracking devices in the data is mainly realised at stanza initiations. However, there is an important aspect of it which is not necessarily associated with stanza boundaries: this is the case of the overt marking (ie nominal reference) of a participant already introduced in the narrative, which is employed as a powerful signal of "world-shifts" or shifts of "footing" (Goffman 1981). Such world-shifts entail a. shifts from the storyworld (ie the world of the characters) to the non-storyworld (ie the world of the external narrator) in the form of background commentary and b. shifts from the storyline (narrative action) or the non-storyline (e.g. background comments) to the characters' speech (also see Georgakopoulou 1992a: 41-44). The pattern of referential choice governing these shifts is that if a reference to the character is employed in both "worlds" it has to be explicit:

(56) a. ... *ki eki pu nomiza oti ghenika itan asfalis o frahtis/ oti o skilos dhe tha boruse na vghi exo/ o skilos xafnika edhose ena pidho/ ke arhise na me kninighai/*

... and though I thought that the fence was pretty safe/ you know that **the dog** wouldn't be able to get out/ **the dog** all of a sudden leapt/ and started chasing me/

Adonis M., BSA

In this example, the passage from the narrator's "world of thoughts" to the taleworld of action is signalled by overt referential choice for the dog.

b. ... *ton papa/ ton adherfo tu/ o opios then ipirxe pote dhexios o papas/ itan aristeros/ ohi aristeros alla venizelikos/ ton papa ton ehune filaki?/ praghmati ton ihane piasi/ ke ton ihan pai stis filakes tu Milonopulu ton papa...*

... **the priest** (ellipsis of "he says")/ (narrator's aside) his brother who had never been right wing (lit: who... **the priest**: resumption)/ he was on the left/ not on the left but a Venizelian [political faction]/ (back to the direct speech) do they have **the priest** in prison? (lit: the priest him[clitic] they have in prison?)/indeed they had arrested him (clitic)/ and they had put **the priest** in prison (lit: and him (clitic) they had put in prison the priest)...

Hristos C., BSA

In (56b) above the referent "*ton papa*" (the priest) is nominally referred to both within the character's speech and in the shift to the narratorial comment that interrupts ("the priest had never been left wing") and follows the exchange ("indeed they had arrested the priest").

c. *ftanun sto Spiro pia/ ftasane sto Spiro pu leghame oti tha tus ekane kapsonia/ eleftheri tus lei o Spiros/ o Pireotis o atimos/ fighete/*

finally they get to **Spiros**/ they got to **Spiros** who we thought would give them a hard time/ you're free **says Spiros**/ that rascal from Piraeus/ go away/

Liakos A., FSA

As with the above examples, an attenuated form of reference for the character "*Spiros*" who has been overtly referred to in the preceding action lines would suffice. However, the nominal reference renders the boundary to the world of speech more salient. The following example also illustrates the case of keeping the world of action and the world of speech apart by means of overt character reference:

d. *tu leo tu Vassili/ kato pu tha katevis
pes tu patera su oti eghe tha pao akri
akri/ apano apo to dhromo/ ke tha
vgho stin kato meria stin koskitsa/
edaxi/*

... I tell **Vassilis**/ now that you'll go
down there tell your father that I'm
going this way/ follow this path/ and
get to the lower part of koskitsa/
alright (**ell. for says Vasilis**)/

*pai fevghe apo ki/ akuo pio pera ke tu
to lei o Vassilis/ patera tu lei o thios
tha pai apo ki ke tha vgho apo ki/*

he (**ellipsis for Vassilis**) leaves goes
further down/ **Vassilis** tells him further
down/ dad he tells him uncle will go
this way and get there...

Sakis B., FSA

As can be seen, the narrator chooses to emphasise the new shift to the character's speech by nominally referring to the character, though he is elliptically referred to both in the immediately preceding action line ("he leaves") and within the stanza of the characters' exchange ("alright he says").

In cases in which reference to the character is employed only in one "world" the use of a new overt reference signals return to this world:

e. ... *vlepo nasu o pateras mu/ itane
ena horisma psilo/ itane ki pera sa
baso/*

I also see **my father**/ there was a tall
partition/ it was there like a small wall/

sikonete o pateras mu...

my father gets up...

Hristos H., BSA

In this case the return to the storyline ("my father gets up") after the brief digression for background commentary is signalled by a second explicit reference to the

character. As can be seen from this example, very frequently such shifts coincide with the beginning of a new stanza, which being a *locus classicus* of macroorganisation, makes the choice of nominal reference all the more apparent.

In all cases illustrated above, the unfolding functioning of nominal reference lies in that it acts as a marker of boundaries between "text-worlds". This function of overt reference is hardly ever met in SC. The reason for this absence is partly the fact that shifts to characters' speech are very rare in SC (see ch 6). At the same time though, viewed in the light of the discussion so far (also see §4.8.4 below), it adds to the general finding that SC do not fully make use of their binding devices at the level of unfolding.

4.8.4 Characters on Stage: Macronarrative Decisions of Plot Centrality

A last aspect of unfolding functioning exhibited by participant tracking in the data involves cases of more than one character on narrative stage which can be additionally tied together by an immediately projected interaction. The strategies by which these cases are handled are related to macroorganisational decisions regarding the characters' plot centrality. In particular, character interaction has been found in the literature to trigger two strategies of referential patterning:

- a. *A pronominal or elliptical strategy* (depending on which of the two forms of reference is the most attenuated one in the language in question) for the main actor (central character, protagonist); in this case, secondary characters are explicitly referred to (e.g. Clancy 1980, 1992, Hinds 1983, Karmiloff-Smith 1985, Marslen et al 1982). This referential choice has been argued to promote a thematic viewpoint, thus it is usually named thematic or hero-centered or ellipsis-for-hero strategy. Its main aim is to promote a sense of the narrator's empathy with the protagonist.

- b. The second strategy is an *elliptical or nominal* (mainly in cases of switch reference) strategy for all characters independent of their plot centrality (see Clancy 1992). Bamberg (1987) suggested that basing referential choice on this strategy entails the local clause-by-clause monitoring of a character's role which primarily caters for the elimination of any potential ambiguities and misreferences. By contrast, the ellipsis-for-hero strategy involves the global monitoring of the role of the characters in the plot as a whole.

The study of the data at hand with regard to cases of character interaction is admittedly a considerably less rich source than third-person narration: the reason for this is that in principle the main character is the I-character rather than a third-person character. However, this does not exclude different shades of plot centrality among the rest of the characters. In fact the study of strategies used for handling cases of character interaction proved to be particularly illuminating of the unfolding choices that regulate participant tracking in SA vs SC. The main finding was that SA favour the use of ellipsis-for-hero strategy at a considerably greater percentage (BSA: 38.1% of the cases of more than one character on stage vs BSC: 63.6%). This provides additional support for the overall unfolding policy of participant tracking in SA vs SC unravelled in this chapter. In particular, it shows that the unfolding power of referential choices is exploited in SA more than in SC which do not fully amalgamate the local with the global referential strategy. In this case too, when it comes to the decision of conglomerating the elliptical and nominal strategy for interacting characters, in order to signal macroorganisation, ie plot centrality, SC prefer adhering to the constraints of the local context.

The following extracts from the two versions of the same story related to adults and children illustrate the two strategies in operation. The first extract from the SA relies on the ellipsis-for-hero strategy, the hero being the narrator's brother who has a car accident. The second same-gender character who is the father is by contrast overtly referred to except for cases where the other character is off the scene. In the second

extract, the situation is completely different. The referential choices attached to the two characters are unrelated to global decisions of plot centrality; instead they are locally monitored. In this case both characters are nominally rather than elliptically referred to:

(57) a. ... *kapio provlima idhe o babas sto dhromo... alla telika i usia ine oti patise apotoma freno ke xafnika o adherfulis mu opos kathotan.../ pos erhode ta praghmata ke pigheni i asfalia ligho akrivos pano apo to mati tu/*

... dad saw something down the road/ but in the end basically he hit the brakes hard/ and suddenly my brother as he was sitting there.../ somehow as it happened he crashed into the side of the door/ the door lock just missing his eye/

eftihos vghikame exo apo to aftokinito ki afta/ vrethike kapios ghiatros eki pera o opios ipe na ton pame sto nosokomio ki afta/ ki etsi ki eghine/

luckily we got out off the car/ and some doctor who happened to be there told us to go straight to the hospital/ which is what we did/

edaxi eghe dhen katalavena ke pola praghmata idha oti ihe ema/ alla apo ki ke pera dhe theorusa oti itane tipota to sovaro/

alright I didn't really understand what was going on/ I saw some blood/ but I didn't think it was any more than that/

ke prepi na itan mikrulis/ prepi na itan ghiro epta hronon kati tetio/... (further on) ke thimame karthomastan exo me to baba/ ke thimame oti kapnize para poli/ ke itan tromera stenohorimenos/

and **he (ellipsis)** must have been quite small/ he must have been about seven give or take/ ... (further on) and I remember we all waited outside with dad/ and I remember him smoking like a chimney/ and he was very upset/...

... ki eniothe poli ashima ghiati ekane aftos kati kako/ ki o ghios tu ipoferi tora ghiafto/ ki eleghe oles aftes tis istories oti ghiati na mi htipagha eghe i i mama/

and he felt really terrible 'cos he'd done something bad and that's why his son suffers now/ and he was saying all this stuff like why didn't he or mum get injured instead/

ke prepi nomizo na tu kanane mia mikri paremvasi e mia mikri epemvasi sto stomahi eki pera/ ke meta emine ghia mia dhio meres sto nosokomio/ ke meta efighe...

and I think **he (ellipsis for "my brother")** must have had a reparation sorry - operation somewhere in the stomach/ and he stayed in hospital for a day or two/ and then he was allowed to leave...

Virginia F., BSA

b. ... *ki o babas odhighodas adimetopise kpio provlima sto dhromo/ ke katalixame sto na ehume ena atihima me ton adherfo mu/*

dhen itane tipota to sovaro/ apla htipise o adherfos mu sto mati tu/ ke theorithike kalo na pame sto nosokomio/

ki etsi pighame katefthian sto nosokomio/ to opio vevea itan arketa makria/ ke ton piran ton adherfo mu katefthian sta epighoda/

i mama pighe mazi tu ke ton sinodhefse/ eno eghe emina exo me to baba/

telika dhen ipirhe kanena idhietero provlima/ o adherfos mu emine mono mia dhio meres sto nosokomio/ ke meta efighe/

afto omos pu mu ekane ediposi itane to poso ashima eniothe o pateras mu/ ghiati odhighuse aftos to aftokinito/ ke theorise ton eafto tu ipefthino ghia to atihima tu adherfu mu/

me ti mama dhen iha tin efkeria na sizitiso ghia to pos esthanotane ghiati afti sinodhepse ton adherfo mu mesa/ ala sighura dhe tha xehaso to pos eniothe o babas ghia ton adherfo mu

... **while dad** was driving he had some trouble/ and we ended up having an accident with **my brother**/

it was nothing serious/ **my brother** had just an injury above the eye/ and it seemed wise to go to the hospital/

and so we went to the hospital/ which was of course quite a long way/ and they took **my brother** straight to the accident emergency ward/

mum went with **my brother**/ she escorted him/ while I[egho] stayed outside with **dad**/

and there was no particular problem/ **my brother** only stayed a day or two in the hospital/ and then he left/

but what really impressed me was how **dad** took it all/ since he (pronoun) was driving the car/ and he felt responsible for **my brother's** injury/

I didn't have the opportunity to discuss with my mum how she felt/ because she (pronoun) escorted **my brother** into the ward/ but I definitely won't forget how **my dad** felt about **my brother**/

Virginia F., BSC
(Also see Appendix, ex. 3)

As can be seen in 57b above, the "failure" to amalgamate the bottom-up and top-down functioning of the nominal and elliptical strategies for "goodness of plot progression" (Bamberg 1987) results in the redundant use of the nominal strategy. This particular choice is sometimes brought to bear upon the construction of SC as a strategy of

highlighting the central character by means of over-encoding its nominal reference. The strategy is clearly evaluative, but it is absent in SA presumably because it would come across as a boring redundancy among an audience of adults: e.g.

(58) ... *mas efere o pateras mu sto spiti
ena lagho/ pu ton ihane piasi sena
agroktima/*

... our father brought home **a hare/**
which they caught on a farm/

*ton htipisane etsi me mia petra/
zalistike o laghos/ ton piasane/ ke mas
ton ferane zodano to lagho zodano stin
Aghia Paraskevi/ - sto Holargho malon
pu mename palia/*

they hit him with a straw/ **the hare**
was dazed/ they caught him/ and they
brought **the hare** alive to Aghia
Paraskevi (Athens suburb)/ -no actually
it was Holargos where we used to live/

*eki pezame mazi me to lagho/ ton
vazame kato/ perpatuse mes sto spiti/*

there we played with **the hare/** we let
him loose/ he ran freely in the house/

*telika ton pighame to lagho se mia
apothiki/ ki erhodusan ola ta pedhia/
ke vlepane to lagho/*

eventually we put **the hare** in a shed/
and all the kids used to come/ and
they'd watch **the hare/**

*mia mera omos eki pu bike i mitera mu
na katharisi to lagho/ ke na tu dhosi
kenurghio faghito/ htipai mia stin porta
o laghos/ tin anighi me dhinami ke
petaghetete exo/*

one day though while mum had gone
into the shed to clean up **the hare/** and
give him fresh food/ **the hare** springs
at the door/ opens it forcefully and
leaps out/

*fonazi i mitera mu katefthian efighe o
laghos/ katevenume emis kato ke ti na
dhume/ adhio to spiti tu laghu/*

mum shouts at once quick **the hare**
made a run for it/ we come running
downstairs to see what/ empty the
house of the hare/

*arhizume na trehume piso apo to
lagho/ brosta o laghos piso emis/
brosta o laghos piso emis/*

we start running after **the hare/ the
hare** in front us behind/ **the hare** in
front us behind/...

*...vevea o laghos etrehe poli pio
ghrighora/ ke telika ton hasame to
lagho/*

... obviously **the hare** was much too
fast/ and in the end we lost **the hare/**

*alla meta apo tris meres mathame oti
ton piasane to lagho i ipallili apo ena
supermarket...*

but three days later we heard that some
employees at the local supermarket
caught **the hare...** (emphatic word
order: ... that him (clitic) caught the

hare some employees at the local supermarket)

Bessi F., FSC

In the above example the central character, namely the hare, is nominally referred to 15 times (!) within six stanzas as opposed to only four times that he is elliptically referred to. Evidently, this strategy of overexplicitness is hardly motivated by the need for eliminating any ambiguities. Instead, its use exhibits a poetic function which owes a great deal of its power to its allusion to the style of children's storybooks and fairy tales.

4.8.5 Narrative Parts and Participant Tracking

As is standard procedure in the present analysis, the study of the unfolding function of participant tracking at stanza-boundaries was complemented by its investigation with respect to the highpoint analytic categories. The first issue to be explored was the critical environments in the whole of narrative macroorganisation for character introduction. The result of the analysis was not surprising: as a rule, character introduction is favoured by the story's initial orientation section or the initial part of the CA, especially in the common cases of stories which lack a separate preposed orientation section. What was interesting though was the strategic positioning of the character introduction in these parts. Specifically, it normally functions as a demarcatory element which draws attention to the new textual segment, ie either to the setting up of the background scene (59a below) or to the onset of narrative action (59b below): e.g.

(59) a. ... *kita emis xerame tus Koroleus/ o Nikos o Korolis ehi pari ti
Maria pu ine apo to Maratho/ i Maria lipon ehi ena koritsi...*

listen we knew the Korolis family/ Nikos Korolis you know who's got married to Maria from Marathos/ so Maria has got a daughter... (Maria is going to be a main character in the story)

Fani B., FSA

In this example, the onset of the orientation section is marked by the introduction of the Korolis family.

b. (onset of CA) ... *lipon ke pame eki ke sinadame ena filo tu/ kapio*
Ghianni pliarho tu eboriku naftiku...

and so we go there and we meet a friend of his/ some John who is a sailor/...

Dhimitris V., FSA

In a similar vein, the introduction of the main character Ghiannis onto the narrative stage in 59b above is part of the onset of the story's CA.

The next relation between participant tracking and narrative parts investigated in the data was its role in signalling the passage to the climax. Here too, the overwhelming audience-related finding is in accordance with the whole of participant tracking design for unfolding purposes in each case of storytelling. Specifically, SA favour switch reference devices as part of their macrosegmentation considerably more than SC who cling to their strategy of continuity, even at the passage to the "zone of turbulence": more than half of the climax initiations in SA are marked by switch reference and/or overt referential forms (BSA: 60.8%, FSA: 55.9%) as opposed to only 45.4% in BSC and 39.6% in FSC. In addition to the switch reference devices as climax demarcators, a referential choice characteristic of the climactic part involves nominal reference occurring in lines that encode a character's internal or physical state; these are normally projected as results of the high-point action. As can be seen in the following examples, in these cases of explicit reference an attenuated referential form would be the unmarked case: e.g.

(60) a. ... *tis rihnume nero/ me tipote dhe sinerhete to pedhi/ ihe arhisi*
na melaniazi/ ihe hasi tis esthis tu/ itan shedhon pethameno to pedhi/

... we throw her water/ it is impossible to bring **the child** to/ it had started becoming blue/ it had lost consciousness/ **the child** was almost dead (lit. word-order: was ...the child)

Thomas H., FSC

b. ... *mathame oti **afti i ghineka** arrostise/ arrostise ashima/ ke stenohorithikame para poli otan to mathame/ ghiati **afti i ghineka** itan opos su xanaipa para poli kali/ ke mas aghapuse san pedhia tis/*

... we heard that **this woman** fell ill/ fell very ill/ and we were very upset/ because **this woman** was very very good as I've already told you/ and she loved us like our mother...

Ghiannis B., BSA

c. ... *e meta ithela kapu na to po/ ke vrika **ti mama**/ edaxi eki itan to meghalitero sok/ **i mama** arhhise na klei isterika...*

... then I wanted to tell somebody/ and there was **my mother**/ well this was a real shock/ **my mother** started sobbing and mourning...

Thanasis I., FSA

d. ... *e klino to telefono/ to leo ston **Kosta**/ patheni sok o **Kostas**/...*

... I hung up the phone/ I tell **Kostas**/ **Kostas** is shocked/...

Alex N., BSA

A frequent elaboration of this case is the more complex choice of referential patterning which involves nominally or pronominally referring to more than one character in the form of rapidly moving the camera from one to the other; the device accompanies instances of characters' evaluative action, emotive reaction or mental state. This is mostly encoded in tripartite schemes:

(61) ... *benume sto aftokinito/ **aftos** etrehe ke kornarize/ **egho** kratagha ti Vivi agalia/ **i mama su** travaghe ta mallia tis ki ekleghe as pume/...*

... we get into the car/ **he (pronominal)** was running and honking/ **I (pronominal)** was holding Vivi in my arms/ **your mum** was pulling at her hair and crying you know/...

Thomas H., FSC
(same example as in 31b)

As discussed elsewhere (see §3.2.3), instances of unfolding devices frequently co-occur with instances of evaluative utterances to the end of enhancing their evaluative

function. Comparably, it can be argued that the choice of a marked referential form (ie overt marking) in evaluative instances of results of the high point action exhibits a clear expressive-level role: that of enhancing the evaluative function of these instances.

4.8.6 The Case of I-Pronominal Reference

Cases of the I-pronominal (*egho-reference*) referential choice are interesting to look at in their own right: this has to do with the fact that they constitute a marked choice purely motivated by rhetorical purposes and not by cognitive constraints (ellipsis for the I-character cannot cause any ambiguities). To begin with, "egho-reference" presents a clear unfolding function in its use as a stanza-initial device. In this case, it normally takes the form of "*ki egho*" (and I) which essentially proves to function as a fixed marker or void connective. "Ki egho" co-occurs highly with HP motion verbs or verbs of saying with which it constitutes a fixed means of stanza initiation: e.g.

(62) a. *pas sto horio mu lene/ ne/ tha
ghirisis pali simera/ tha ghiriso tus leo
to mesimeri/ mas fernis ke ta hartia/
ghiati san proedhros kati hartia iha kei
ghia to dhasarhio/ tha ta fero tus leo/*

.. are you going to your village they
tell me/ yes/ are you coming back
today/ yes around noon I tell them/ can
you bring us the papers then/ 'cos as a
town Mayor I kept some papers for the
forestry commission/ I'll bring them I
tell them/

*e pao stu Radhu ki egho/ kovo to
elataki mu/ to fortono/ to vazo mes sto
aftokinito...*

so I[**ki egho**] go (lit: go and I) to
Radhu/ I get the Christmas tree/ put it
in the car...

Liakos A., FSA

b. ... *ki eki re pedhi mu dhe boruses na
trexis/ ghiati ihe aristera dhexia bares/
thalassa vuno potami tora/ dhen
pernaghe tipota/*

... and you couldn't go fast at that
point man/ 'cos there were road bars
on the left and the right/ and the
scenery was sea mountains and a (lit:
sea mountains river now)/ no vehicle
could go fast there/

*plakonome ki egho brosta tora meta tin
teleftea strofi/ travao dhiakosia eki stin*

now I[**ki egho**] start stepping on it at
the last turn/ I am doing two hundred

efthia...

at the straight...

Ghiotis G., FSA

In addition to the above use, "egho-reference" serves as a device for establishing either a contrastive relation (separateness, relation of opposition) with other characters, ie a bipolar distinction of the form I vs others, or a relation of co-operation and solidarity with other characters. This perspectival choice is a powerful means of delineating the narrator's and other characters' involvement in the story. Its common forms of realisation are schemes of presenting the characters involved in highly analogous and complementary emotive/verbal/mental etc actions and reactions:

(63) a. ... *tis plisiasame koda/ mas fenodusan opos mas fenodan i simmathitries mas as pume/ dhen ihane kamia dhiafora/ re Ghianni leo **egho** periergho dhe su fenete/ periergho re Taki lei o **Ghiannis**/ ti na pume/*

... we approached them/ but they looked to us like our class-mates/ they had no difference/ now John **I** tell him isn't this strange/ yes Takis it is strange says **John**/ what can we say

Takis G., FSA

Given that only the narrator and his friend are on scene in the above extract, explicit referential forms for both of them is certainly a meaningful choice for stressing the characters' solidarity and agreement.

b. ... *o **babas mu** ine sto krevati imithanis/ i **mama** ston kosmo tis/ **egho** ta pezo...*

... **my dad** is in bed half-dead/ **my mum** is out of touch/ she doesn't know what the hell is going on/ **I** panic...

Alexandra B., BSA
(same example as 31b)

This example involves the case of overt character references in a tripartite scheme (see

§4.8.4). Alternatively, "egho-reference" stresses the I-character's contrastive, confrontational and opposed actions or reactions to the rest of the characters':

(64) a. ... *lei vale ekti/ vazo ekti **egho**/ vazi ekti ki o **Hristos**/*

... he (ellipsis for "Hristos") tells me go into sixth/ **I** go into sixth/ **Hristos** goes into sixth too/

... *anighume to gazi ki i dhio/ gazono **egho**/ gazoni ki o **Hristos**/...*

... we both step on it/ **I** step on it/ **Hristos** steps on it/...

Panaghiotis G., FSA

(also see ex.7)

b. ... *ki itan enas allos Kerkireos me mia mihani eki/ ke lei **aftos** se kapia fasi/ **egho** lei boro na kodraro opion lei/ ki ime ke top/ ke kani etsi ghia kodra/*

... and there was this other guy from Corfu there with a bike/ and at some point **he** tells me/ I can race anybody he says/ and I'm cool ("top")/ and he does like that to pick on me/

*arpazome **egho**/ meghale tu leo **egho** ise ghrighoros/ ki edho dhe horane tetia ghiati ise poli ghrighoros/ dhulema tora dhulema e...*

I go crazy/ hey man **I** tell him I bet you're quick/ you're damn quick I bet (ironically said)/ pulling his leg now you know pulling his leg...

Kostas P., FSA

The case is frequently met in stories involving "kodres" as the above examples illustrate.

c. *akugha to **thio** su fonaze sfiraghe/ milia **egho**/ afu perimeno to lagho **egho**/ safton tha milao/...*

... I could hear **your** **uncle** shouting whistling/ **I** was silent (lit: not a word I)/ since **I** am waiting for the hare/ why should I talk to him/...

*erhete **aftos** edho/ ke ghiati ke ghiati dhe fonazes/ ke ghiati/ ade siakato siakato/*

he[pro] (the uncle) comes here/ and why (ellipsis for and he says why) why didn't you shout (reply to my shouts)/ and why/ going like that all the way down/

*tu leo **egho** **egho** ipa sto Vassili eki tha
pao/ apo ki ke pera esi eprepe na
ektimisis pu tha pas na katsis na me
perimenis/*

I tell him/ **I** told Vassilis I'll go there/
so you (pronoun) should've figured out
where to go wait for me...

Sakis B., FSA
(same story as 56d)

As can be seen in the above example, the conflict between the narrator and his brother is channelled through overt referential choices (ie *egho*-reference and pronominal third-person reference).

*d. ... ke afto proti fora mu ehi simvi sti
zoi mu/ me kitaze horis dhiladhi horis
na kinisi to vlemma tu...*

... and it was the first time that this
happened in my life/ he was looking
at me without taking his eyes off me...

***egho** beno mesa stin porta edho/ o
Mihalis ine dho/ ki **aftos** ine eki/*

I go into the room here (showing)/
Mihalis is here (showing)/ and **he** is
there/

*me to pu beno lipon **egho** leo ghia xero
gho ti ghinete/ ghirnai **aftos** etsi opos
itan/ ke meni eki/*

so as **I** go in and say hi what's up and
stuff like that/ **he** turns to me like that/
and stays there/

***egho** sinehixo na milao me to Mihali
ke lipa/ edaxi emine eki ke mas kituse/
mas kituse/ ke kathomastan etsi/*

I keep on talking to Mihalis and stuff/
no he stayed like that and was looking
at us/ he was looking at us/ and we
were sitting like that/

***egho** as pume tu anixa kuveda min ton
apomonoso kelipa/ ti kanis me pion
kanis/*

I talked to him you know/ cause **I**
didn't want to alienate him/ what are
you doing with whom (ie what are
your academic interests and who is
your supervisor)/

*tipota **aftos** emine ke me kituse...*

to no avail/ **he** was like that looking at
me all the time/

Vaggelis L., FSA

The above example is a characteristic instance of how the stanza-formative mechanism of schemes involving "*egho*-reference" can extend beyond the level of one stanza and

act as the major organising principle of successive stanzas. The contrast between the narrator and the character "*Stamatis*" ("*he*" in the extract) realised by the marked choice of "egho-reference" and the accompanying perspectival shifts from one character to the other, essentially constitutes the most salient unfolding principle of the extract. On the basis of the rest of the findings so far, it is easily inferrable that SC do not manifest any instances of such complex and pervasive stanza-formative use except for shifts to "egho-reference" which are more confined in impact.

Employing explicit reference for building up a relation of contrast or solidarity between characters was also reported by Flaschner (1987: 145) about oral Polish narratives as both a major axis of narrative organisation and an expressive-level device. This dual function occurs in the data when "egho-reference" is encoded in instances of results of high point action: as already suggested, marked referential choice enhances the evaluative functioning of such instances.

4.9 Summary

The findings of the second part of this chapter generally accord with the findings pertinent to connectivity markers (Part A). Specifically, at binding level, SC once again exhibit their micro-level tendency for explicitness while, at unfolding level, the main strategy underlying their macronarrative construction is that of continuity and avoidance of the salient demarcation of textual segments. This is evidenced by their restricted use -compared to SA- of switch reference and overt referential marking both at stanza-initiation point and, in terms of the highpoint analysis, at the climax onset. By contrast, the picture of global narrative organisation emerging for the SA heavily relies on the strategy of enhancing the passage to a new unit by creating salient shifts and a sense of discontinuity with respect to the prior text. While the strategies underlying the unfolding patterning of both markers and participant reference devices are the same, the textual means for their attainment somewhat differ in each case. Specifically, discourse markers are extensively employed in SC as macrosegmentational devices due to their enhancing continuity with the prior text, while shifts in person deixis and temporal deixis in the form of tense shift are not

systematically opted for as part of the stories' unfolding. The situation is reversed in the SA which rely on the unfolding function of participant tracking more than SC; in this way, they appear to dynamically conglomerate the local with the global segmentation strategy (e.g. see case of "egho-reference" and the referential strategy for more than one character).

An interesting finding consistently confirmed by the data analyses with respect to the above differences is the strong association that the SC present with the written-based model of narration as projected in the written corpus. This finding will be consolidated in the following chapters.

moves to the third component of our analytic schema, namely evaluation. The first issue to be covered by the following discussion concerns the operationalisation of evaluation for the data at hand. Their analysis suggested that this was an essential procedure for the investigation of the phenomenon. Thus, the first step towards uncovering the evaluative mechanisms of the stories examined was to set up a typology of evaluative devices well suited to them. The general guidelines of this process were in accordance with the conceptualisation of the role of evaluation as discussed in §1.5.2. For instance, the adoption of Polanyi's *contextual criterion* of evaluation led to the avoidance of any preconceived ideas as to the specific devices by which evaluation is realised in the data.

As the discussion will show, the data analysis led to a serious re-structuring of the Labovian scheme of evaluation. First of all, it brought to the fore a major category of evaluative devices in which rests the involving character of MG storytelling; this will be called the category of *proximal evaluation* on the grounds of its evaluative effects. Its formulation constitutes the most notable reformulation of Labov's typology of evaluative devices for the data at hand. Subsequently, Labov's major category of intensifiers was significantly altered and made more operational. In particular, devices which are or could be subsumed under the umbrella-term of intensifiers were extracted from it and teased apart on the basis of their evaluative patterns of use and effects in the data. In other words, it was judged that if they were lumped together under the *umbrella* of intensifiers the analysis would miss significant functional differences.

Chapter 5

Evaluating Modern Greek Stories: Involvement through Proximity, Intensity and Vocabularies of Motives

5.0 Introduction

Up to this point, the discussion has dealt with the binding and unfolding mechanisms in the data. This chapter moves to the third component of our analytic scheme, namely evaluation. The first issue to be covered by the following discussion concerns the operationalisation of evaluation for the data at hand. Their analysis suggested that this was an essential procedure for the investigation of the phenomenon. Thus, the first step towards uncovering the evaluative mechanisms of the stories examined was to set up a typology of evaluative devices well suited to them. The general guidelines of this process were in accordance with the conceptualisation of the role of evaluation as discussed in §1.5.2. For instance, the adoption of Polanyi's *contextual criterion* of evaluation led to the avoidance of any preconceived ideas as to the specific devices by which evaluation is realised in the data.

As the discussion will show, the data analysis led to a serious re-structuring of the Labovian scheme of evaluation. First of all, it brought to the fore a major category of evaluative devices in which rests the involving character of MG storytelling: this will be called the category of *proximal evaluation* on the grounds of its evaluative effects. Its postulation constitutes the most notable reformulation of Labov's typology of evaluative devices for the data at hand. Subsequently, Labov's major category of intensifiers was significantly altered and made more operational. In particular, devices which are or could be subsumed under the umbrella-term of intensifiers were extracted from it and teased apart on the basis of their evaluative patterns of use and effects in the data. In other words, it was judged that if they were lumped together under the category of intensifiers the analysis would miss significant functional differences.

Additionally, evaluative categories of central importance in Labov's model such as correlatives and explicatives proved to be marginal in the stories. By contrast, the category of comparators both remained intact and appeared to be a vital component in the repertoire of their evaluative devices. On the whole though, the list of evaluative devices formed bears little relation to the Labovian scheme. Thus to make the discussion easier to follow, the findings of the quantitative analysis of the stories' evaluative devices will be preceded by the presentation of their criterial features and effects. This will elucidate the nature of the affective or expressive component that typifies MG stories.

5.1 The Repertoire of Modern Greek Evaluative Ways of Telling

5.1.1 Markers of Intensity

Two points were made apparent by the data analysis regarding the Labovian evaluative category of intensifiers: First, that the category presents a significant internal heterogeneity which calls for breaking it up into clearly delineated sub-categories and dealing with each of them separately. Labov himself admitted that

there is no closed set of markers of intensity. Intensity is signalled by a large and miscellaneous class of devices, ranging from the most peripheral of prosodic variations to the most central categories of the grammar

1984: 48

The second observation pertained to specific evaluative devices which can be treated as intensifiers on the basis of their definitional criterion in the Labovian model, which is that they do not complicate the basic narrative syntax unlike what happens in the cases of comparators, correlatives and explicatives. However, on the basis of their evaluative patterns and effects, these devices appear to be quite distinct. In view of this, the first decision was to set non-linguistic markers of intensity apart. Thus, a separate sub-category was formed comprising expressive phonology, and prosodic and paralinguistic devices. Devices coded here were instances of expressive sounds and

onomatopoeia as well as sudden and salient changes in prosody and stress. The latter comprise shifts in the rate of speech (very slow or very fast), in duration (lengthening or shortening of vowels or consonants), in pitch (high-low pitch, whisper, singing), in volume (e.g. breath held, breathiness) and in stress (the list of features adapted from Blount 1984: 13 and Hicks 1990: 96). Due to the fact that the data were not videotaped, paralinguistic devices such as gestures were unfortunately not coded: e.g.

(65) a. ... *ke to meghafono na lei afto to traghudhi* **para ra ra tu ru ru ru rum/** *ki o Zughanelis na lei apo to mikrofono* **papaaares ipokofa...**

... and the lorry's loudspeaker playing this song "**para ra ra tu ru ru ru rum**" (**humming the tune**)/ and Zughanelis saying over the mike "**papaaares**" (**elongation**) in a deep voice...

(see example 76 for a longer extract from the story)

Takis G., FSA

b. (From the story of "Gorbi", the dog who felt betrayed by his owner: see example 49)

... *o skilos me idhe ke* **DHEN ERHOTAN KATHOLU...**

... the dog saw me and **HE DIDN'T COME TO ME AT ALL** (loudness)

Dhimitris V., FSC

c. ... *ihane mia magura/ ke sto homa bap bup/ magura/ kitaza kato ki ekana* **OIII OIII/**

... they had this long stick and hit me with it while lying on the ground "bap bup" (lit: ellipsis: and on the ground bap bup: onomatopoeia)/ I was looking down going **OOOH OOH** (both elongation and high pitch)

Kostas F., FSA

Non-linguistic markers of intensity are as a rule abundant in instances of characters' speech. This co-occurrence has frequently been reported as a means of creating a "*one-man multimedia show of dramatic evocation*" (Stempel 1986: 210, see discussion in §5.3).

The next step was to investigate the linguistic markers of intensity. These are treated in the literature as a particularly heterogeneous category. Quirk et al (1985: 590-97) suggested that they can be divided into the following three semantic classes: *emphasisers* (also referred to as qualifiers: e.g. certainly, mainly, only), *amplifiers* (also referred to as quantifiers: e.g. very, too, absolutely, extremely, completely) and *downtoners* (or *hedges* e.g. rather, sort of, maybe). The first two classes of markers boost the force of a proposition, ie express certainty about its information; they only differ in that the latter marks the degree of certainty expressed by the proposition. On the whole, as Biber & Finnegan (1989: 94) suggested, all three classes above base their intensifying function on encoding the speaker's *evidentiality*, that is, his attitudes towards knowledge (ie mode of knowing, reliability of source, adequacy of linguistic expression: for a discussion see Chafe 1986: 261-72).

To complete the picture of intensity markers, Biber & Finnegan (1989, also see Dry-Alistair 1992) put forward a major alternative way of expressing attitude through intensifiers which is the use of markers of affect. These are verbs, adjectives and adverbials which encode the speaker's "*personal attitudes, including emotions, feelings, moods and general dispositions*" (94). They can be classified as positive (e.g. fortunate, amazing, happily, luckily, conveniently etc) or as negative (e.g. shocked, sadly, alarmingly etc) depending on the emotion encoded. The evaluative function of these devices was explicitly recognised both by Tannen (1979) and by Polanyi (1985) who called them instances of evaluative language. In the coding of the data, all the above markers proved to form a very closed and thus predictable set of recurring items. This tendency was particularly notable in the case of evaluative language where there is a wider range of choices available, compared to cases of markers such as qualifiers, quantifiers and hedges. In fact, a very small corpus of markers of affect (e.g. "*(itane) tromero/fovero*" ((it was) terrible), "*apesia/siglonistiki (ebiria)*" (awful/shattering (experience)), tend to recur in the part of the story that encodes emotions and reactions to the climactic action. They thus function as standardised ways of referring to the story's tellable and/or storyable events. In this way, they instantiate a common tendency in the data, that of drawing on fixed expressions for

creating an evaluative effect by means of evoking the familiar. This is very evident in the case of clichés which will be discussed in §5.1.4.1.

It was decided that all the markers discussed above should be treated as part of the same category, namely linguistic (lexicalised) intensifiers. The main common denominator which guided their classification in the same category is that, as Dorfmueller-Karpusa (1990: 134-69) suggested, they encode the speaker's comment on the information of the proposition (e.g. comment on the quality, manner and degree) *by means of reduction (condensation)*. Additionally, collapsing the percentages of each of these devices into a category is a decision which suited the character of the evaluative analysis in the data: its general aim was to group devices together on the basis of functional similarities rather than attempt a very fine-grained multi-cluster analysis (e.g. Biber 1986, 1992) which is normally favoured in text-type analyses.

5.1.2 Reiteration Devices

Dorfmueller-Karpusa (1990) contrasted the category of *intensifiers by means of reduction* discussed above with the intensity markers which evaluate the information presented by means of *redundancy or extension*. The devices that make up this category are repetition, paraphrase, contrast and parallelism structures. These form our **reiteration patterns**: the detailed discussion of their evaluative function will be postponed till chapter 6 which will deal with the devices that work at the level of both unfolding and evaluating. Here, it suffices to mention that on the grounds of their distinct function and patterns of use it was decided to treat them separately as a category in their own right instead of grouping them under intensifiers.

The contribution of reiteration devices to the disclosure of the narrator's subjective stance towards the material narrated has frequently been underscored in the literature (e.g. Fleischman 1989, Polanyi 1976, 1985, Schiffrin 1982, Tannen 1982, 1987, 1989). Their main evaluative effect has been put forth by Tannen who suggested that they are an *involvement strategy which works primarily on sound*. This means that they

involve the audience with the speaker or writer and the discourse by sweeping them up in what Scollon (1982) calls rhythmic ensemble, much as one is swept up by music and finds oneself moving in its rhythm

1989: 17

5.1.3 Involvement through Sense Patterns

In Tannen's framework, involvement strategies by means of sound patterns contrast with *involvement strategies by means of sense patterns*. Two of the devices belonging to this category are *details* and *ellipsis*: these, too, form part of the stories' evaluative resources. The decision to discuss them together was motivated by their functional similarity which is that they both

create involvement through audience participation in sense-making: by doing some of the work of making meaning, hearers or readers become participants in the discourse

idem

To begin with details, they normally take the form of evaluative orientation which immediately precedes the story's turning point. In Fludernik's (1992b) redefinition of Harweg's model of narrative categories, this positioning would make them part of the "*endogenic situational story parts*": these "*are reducible to the frame of activity or state pertaining at the time that the crucial turn of events takes place*" (136): e.g.

(66) a. *itan edeka ke triadaefia lepta akrivos/ proi Tritis/ otan xafnika htipise to telefono...*

it was **eleven thirty seven sharp/ Tuesday morning/** when suddenly the telephone rang...

Achilleas S., FSA

In this example, the temporal details (ie eleven thirty seven, Tuesday morning) make up the frame of activity which is impinged on by the turn of the events marked by the sudden "ringing of the phone".

In written narration the strategic placement of details before the story's unexpected turn can take the form of a more planned break which warns that the drastic moment is coming and at the same time creates suspense: e.g.

b. *tetarti ohtomisi hiliadhes strofes/ peripu ekaton sarada/ to
thermometro ligho meta tus enenida...*

... fourth gear eight and a half thousand revs/ approximately a hundred
and forty/ the thermometer just over ninety...

Mihalis L., WSA

The above details precede the story's turn which involves the narrator's motorbike accident.

As discussed in §3.2.1, orientation details are frequently associated with the number three which enhances their evaluative functioning. Another "enhancer" of their claim to authenticity, vividness and thus evaluative character is overt references to the act of remembering:

c. ... *ki irthe mia kiria pu ti leghame emis pia Anastasia/ ke to
thimame/ efere ena hartaki me kafe ki ena bukalaki san afta tu uzu
ghemato me koniak/ xeris san dhora parighorias/ to thimame afto to
praghma pu ne haraktiristiko/*

... and a woman came whom we called Anastasia/ and **I remember it**/
she brought a little paper bag with coffee in it and a small bottle like
the ones with ouzo full of brandy/ you know as "gifts of consolation"/
I remember this thing which is striking/...

Athina H., FSA

d. ... *alla afto to kustumaki to thimame tora brosta mu san tora/ to
thimame san na ne tora/ thimame to righe tu kustumiu/ ta hromata/
ihe ena hroma ble vathi/ apo ftino ifasma itane/ me kodo padeloni/ ki
ena sakaki apo pano/ ki ena pukamisaki san mallino/ ine sa na to vlepo
brosta mu tora...*

... but **I remember** this "little" suit as if I were there **now/ I
remember** it as if it were now/ **I remember** the stripes of the suit/ the
colours/ it was navy blue/ it was cheap cloth/ it had short pants/ and a

jacket on top/ and a "little" shirt sort of woollen/ it's as if I could see
it in front of me now...

Nikos H., FSC

As can be seen in the above examples, the details are accompanied by the "I-remember introducer".

The evaluative nature of the second "involvement strategy by means of sense patterns", namely ellipsis, is evident by its strategic positioning in the stories' climactic part. Tannen who reported the use of the device in MG stories claimed that its functionality lies in the fact that it *"forces the audience to fill in and hence to become more involved in the storytelling"* (1983: 361). However, the contention here is that its occurrence in the stories' "zone of turbulence" suggests the additional effect of enhancing the sense of rapid action that the climax as a rule conveys:

(67) ... *ke strivi dhexia o Ghiannis/
strivi dhexia o Ghiannis/ hrak to
mihanaki hrak ki emis kato/*

*lipon vrohi kako tora/ patinaz eggo ki
o Ghiannis/ hrak eggo o Ghiannis
hrak to mihanaki/*

... and Ghiannis turns right/ Ghiannis
turns right/ **and "hrak" the bike**
"hrak" we (ellipsis of the verb: and he
lost the bike and we fell off)

so (ellipsis of the verb: it was) **raining**
cats and dogs/ (ellipsis of: it was)
slippery/ **"hrak" I "hrak" Ghiannis**
"hrak" the bike (as in the previous
stanza)/

Panos J., FSA

(From example 47)

As can be seen above, the climactic event of the two friends' accident with the bike is conveyed by means of elliptical forms which succeed in establishing a compelling rhythm that sets off the story's peak. The evaluative effect of ellipsis is intensified by repetition which is realised by a tripartite scheme in the second stanza of the example. As already suggested, in such cases tripartite schemes fortify the devices' evaluative function.

The evaluative function of evoking culturally powerful ways of referring to events is also evident in the two devices which will be discussed below, namely *clichés* and *schema-driven devices*. They both form an integral part of the "vocabularies of motives" of MG narration, that is, of the conventional and culturally-determined ways of verbalising attitudes towards the narrated experience (the term from Mills 1940 cited in Tannen 1980: 53).

5.1.4 Evaluation and Vocabularies of Motives

5.1.4.1 Clichéd Phrases: Involving through Fixity

Clichés or as also known "*formulae or formulaic expressions*", "*idiomatic units*", "*prepatterned speech*", "*linguistic routines*", "*set expressions*", "*phraseological units*" etc (for the origin of the terms see Tannen 1989: 38), can be defined as combinations larger than a word which tend to recur syntactically and even lexically unchanged in identical contexts (Fillmore 1976: 23). Tannen claimed (1989: 46) that in reality, this fixity in form, function and context is not as absolute as the above definition suggests: in her view, which is adopted here, clichés rather form a continuum that represents the various degrees of fixity or prepatterned identified in expressions. Tannen (1980) also reported the abundance of clichéd expressions in MG storytelling as an orality-associated strategy of involvement by contrast to their avoidance in American English stories. This difference was found to be socioculturally determined. Specifically, while Americans value original phrasing and show little respect for the use of clichéd expressions in narration, Greeks proved to favour standardised and worn-out ways for reporting the tellable. This view was upheld in the data where the use of clichés underlies a strategy of evaluating by means of lending the stories something of the legitimacy of received wisdom and of involving the addressee through evoking the familiar.

As in the case of markers of intensity (see §5.1.1), the formulaic phrases in the data form a well-defined recurring corpus that exhibits a fixity in its context of occurrence. Its *locus classicus* is the part of the stories' climax that encodes results, reactions and emotions caused by the high-point action; alternatively, it is the stories' coda when

it takes the form of encapsulating their point or moral. In this way, the content and scope of coverage of clichéd phrases is congruent with Tannen's & Öztek's claim (1981: 39) that formulas are triggered by and are appropriate for anxiety-provoking, happy and rapport-establishing events. The stories' high-point action is the part which encodes the most tellable (exciting/ sad/ happy etc) event. On the whole, both the fixity in the context of occurrence and the recurrence of a closed set of clichés in the data suggest that the device possesses a schematic significance, that is, it is part of the audience's expectations regarding ways of reporting the tellable.

The clichéd expressions which most frequently encode results of the high point action are: *exo frenon* (out of my mind), *tin ekana/tin evapsa* (I blew it), *ta hasa/ta hriastika/ta pexa* ("them I lost/them I needed": I was scared, helpless), *mu tin edhose/pira anapodhes* ("I went into reverse": I was furious), *trellathika/murlathika* (I went crazy), *allaxa hilia hromata/paghosa/marmarosa/kokkalosa* ("I changed thousands of colours/I became of marble": I froze), *ti na dho/aku na dhis/akus eki* (no particular lexical meaning, carriers of emotive content, expressions of anger/indignation/surprise) and phrases with foreign loans such as *patheno shock/stress* (I get shocked/stressed), *to pezo/ime cool* (I play it cool/I am cool).

In the codas the commonest formulae for summarising a story's point are: *ti ghelio epese* ("what laughter fell": it was a good laugh), *pulisa trella* ("I sold madness": I acted madly), *mu'katse* ("it sat on me": I couldn't bear it), *eghine havales/hamos* (it was a good laugh/a riot), and *itane rezilikia pramata* (it was shameful). Codas can also be in the form of a proverb which encodes the moral point of the story:

(68) a. ... *sto telos thimithika tin parimia pu mas eleghe palia o dhaskalos mas/ osa feni i ora dhe da feni o hronos olos/*

... at the end I remembered the proverb that our teacher used to tell us/
"things that an hour brings all the year does not bring": things that
happen in a moment don't happen in a year/

Kostis G., BSC

The above coda is from a story about the theft of the narrator's motorcycle in the same evening that his grandmother died.

b. ... *ke xeris poso tiheros stathika/ dhioti tha pighename to vradhi sto horio/ ke to vradhi epiase mia theominia ena hioni ena kako/ ase pu tha mas ekline eki/ alla dhe tha borusame na ftasume/*

... and you know I was really lucky/ 'cos we were thinking of going to the village/ and that night there was a cataclysm a blizzard a terrible thing/ what's more we would be cut off there/ or rather we wouldn't be able to make it till there/

na lipon/ (final line of the story: summing up the point with a common MG proverb) kathe ebodhio se kalo/

so there/ (final line of the story: summing up the point with a common MG proverb) **"every obstacle for the good"**: every obstacle turns out for the better/

Haris L., FSA

In written stories formulas such as the above are relinquished for the sake of a corpus of clichés typically associated with the aesthetic doctrines of the school-based model of creative writing. The commonest of these are as follows: *m'epiase/eniosa ena sfiximo sthn kardhia/ sto lemo* ("a tightening in the heart/throat got hold of me" -ie a worry), *sinesthimata lipis me kiriefsan* (I was overwhelmed by emotions of grief), *eniosa ton kosmo na hanete apo ta podhia mu* ("I felt I lost the ground off my feet"), and the idiomatic passive (see Mackridge 1985: 108) of the verb *"perighrafo"* (describe) in the phrase *i hara mu/lipi mu dhen perighrafete* (my joy/sorrow is not described - it defies description) or *to ti eghine dhe leghete ke dhen perighrafete* (what happened is not said and not described). Additionally, the stories' codas very commonly encode external evaluation comments in the typical clichéd phrasing of school-essays such as *"afti i ebiria/ afto to gheghonos ehi mini vathia haraghmeni mesa mu (stin psihi mu)/ haraghmeni me melana/edona hromata (mesa mu)"*: (this experience/this event "has left a deep imprint inside me (inside my soul)/ has been painted with dark/gloomy colours).

The use of worn-out ways of encoding emotions and reactions proved to possess an intergenerational power in the data. Specifically, an ANOVA examining the effect of the narrator's age on the use of clichéd expressions suggested that there is no significant difference in the preference for clichéd expressions between the two age groups (young vs middle-aged) of the basic corpus, $F(1, 16) = 0.88$, $p < .30$ (also see discussion in §5.3).

5.1.4.2 Schema-Driven Devices: A Case of a Closed-Text Evaluation

The vocabularies of motives in operation in the case of schema-driven devices are characteristic of the genre of MG storytelling for children or more generally of talking to children. They are instantiated mainly in the form of lexical but also discursal and thematic choices which are associated with childhood and/or which present an obvious intertextuality with texts for children (e.g. fairy tales, myths). Thus, their presence in stories for adults would by definition strike one as odd and out of place. In fact, schema-driven devices are unique to the corpus of SC, thus "recipient designing" them in a straightforward way. In a nutshell, they fulfil and reflect stereotypes of the kind "this is a story for children". The choice of a term which would adequately describe such devices was a problematic enterprise mainly because of the lack of a suitable term in the literature. In Anderson's work (1984) on literary texts for children, the lexical elements which resemble our "schema-driven" vocabulary choices were vaguely referred to as elements "relevant to childhood". The term schema-driven devices was coined in an attempt to capture the schematic nature and significance of the choices in question, namely that they fulfil a set of schematic expectations about evaluating in the SC. It thus aims at stressing the point that these devices derive from and reflect the culturally determined schema of "telling stories for children".¹

¹ The term is not intended to suggest that the devices in question are the sole instances of evaluation deriving from the schema of storytelling (to adults or children) and should thus be interpreted in a restricted rather than wide sense. At a general level, all evaluative ways of telling ultimately reflect schematic choices. Schema-driven devices are just treated as a special case of audience adaptation devices strongly determined by the schema of storytelling to children which is projected by them as a marked type of storytelling compared to the unmarked storytelling to adults where the devices would not by any means occur.

The commonest schema-driven device in the data is the use of **diminutives**: e.g. *voltula* ("little" walk) instead of *volta* (walk), *skilaki* (little dog/doggy) instead of *skilos* (dog). The commonest suffixes in the formation of diminutives in MG are *-akis* (*aki*) and *-ulis* (*ula*). Except for cases in which diminutives act as politeness strategies in MG (Sifianou 1992b: 155-73), ie "*tha parete ena ghlikaki?*" (would you like a "little" sweet?), they normally characterise talk to and by children. Sifianou suggested that the extensive use of diminutives when addressing children in MG is a device for expressing affection as well as an "*attempt to represent the world as a friendly place*" (idem: 158). Both these motivations for using diminutives in SC are expressive-level considerations shaped by audience awareness.

The next popular schema-driven lexical choice is the use of what Anderson (1984: 62) called vocabulary "*relevant to childhood*" and what Coupland (1983: 40) referred to as "*child-oriented*" language. This involves the use of words which characterise children's talk and reflect their interests. Such lexical choices attempt to present linguistically the addressee's assumed conceptual repertoire, that is, in Fowler's terms (1977: 98), his *mind-style*. The major thematic areas to which schema-driven vocabulary belongs are school, animals and games. Part of it is also the inclusion of allusions to fairy-tales commonly taking the form of formulaic phrasing as in the example below:

(69) a. ...*sigha sigha pernusan ta hronia/ kilusan i mines/ ke kapote*
ematha pos afti i kiria arrostitse varia/

slowly slowly the years went by (lit: went by the years)/ the months
passed/ and at some point I heard that this lady was very very ill/

Ghiannis B., BSC

Though not immediately evident in the translation, the lexical choices of the above example constitute a straightforward allusion to the fairy-tale style of narration, particularly in the formulaic phrasing employed for the passage of the time.

The inclusion of fairy-tale themes and motifs is also common. The example below comes from a story which uses the popular animal-theme of fairy tales as the main vehicle for its plot (also see §7.1.3, ex. 113). As can be seen, the hare is typically presented as lover of freedom, while the archetypal distinction between "the good life in nature" and "the bad life in cities" also comes into play:

b. ... *omos o laghos... dhen adehe ti filaki ti fasaria to vromiko aera tis Athinas/ ithele na ghirisi sto dhasos tu/ na herete ti fisi mazi me ta alla laghudhakia/... (later on in the coda): ... to aghapimeno mas laghudhaki psahnodas na vri tin eleftheria tu epese thima ton kakon anthropon tis meghalupolis/*

... but the hare... couldn't stand the prison the racket the polluted air of Athens/ he wanted to go back to his forest/ to enjoy nature with the other little hares/... (later on in the coda): ... our beloved little hare in his search for freedom fell victim to the merciless man of the city/

Bessi F., FSC

Overt references to famous fairy-tales and children's books also form part of the schema-driven devices:

(70) a. ... *ki arhisa na kleo na kleo na kleo/ ghiati nomiza pia oti iha telios hathi/ ke mu rhodan sto nu mu ke ikones apo paramithia/*

*oti tha rhotan to vradhi ki eghe tha mena eki pera sto vuno moni mu/ **san ta psila vuna tu Papadoni/ tetia pramata/***

[[tu Papadoni]] (interruption from the child)

a ne ne ne tu Papadoni/

... and I started crying crying crying/ 'cos I thought I was competely lost/ and **scenes from fairy-tales** came to my mind/

that night would come and I'd be left alone up there on the mountain/ **like the high mountains by Papadoni** (famous Greek children's novel that was part of the national curriculum)/ and things like that/

[[by Papadoni]] (interruption from the child to correct the name)

ah yes yes yes **by Papadoni...**

Evi B., BSC

b. ... *ki opos pighena eki idha ki eghe ena filo mu kollito/ ihe mia meghali miti aftos/ itane shetos o Pinokio...*

... and as I was walking there I saw this mate of mine/ the guy had a really big nose/ **he was just like Pinocchio**...

Dhimitris V., FSC

c. ... *pai ki i fili mu na piasi to vazaki/ opote me ena dhinato bam tis pefti/ ke ghinete san ti marmaromeni neraidha tu paramithiu/ ta mallia tis san plokamia/ to forema tis lutsa...*

... and my friend goes to grab the little vase/ whereby with a loud crash smashes on the floor/ and she becomes **like the "marble fairy" of the fairy-tale** (allusion to the "Sleeping Beauty"?) / her hair like "octopus legs" / her dress was soaked...

Hariklia A., FSC

The schema-driven device of references to the activity of adult storytelling to children succeeds in inscribing the extradiegetic relation of storytelling (adult addresser-child addressee) in the story (intradiegetic); the purpose of this is to evoke the pattern of adult-child storytelling transactions:

(71) a. ... *anevename pano sti spitonikokira ta proina/ ke to apoghevma xeris mas eleghe istories/ paramithakia to himona xero gho pu klinomastan mesa/...*

... we used to go up to the landlady in the mornings/ and in the afternoons **she would tell us stories you know/ little fairy-tales** in the winter you know when we stayed in...

Ghiannis B., FSC

b. ... *ki i ghiaghia mu simene ghia mena para polla/ itane mia para poli kali ghiaghia pu mu leghe orees istories/ ke etsi tin aghapusa opos ola ta pedhia aghapun ti ghiaghia tus/...*

... and my grandma meant a lot to me/ she was a very good grandma who used to **tell me beautiful stories**/ and so I loved her as all kids love their grandma/...

Hristina A., BSC

In terms of syntactic structuring, modification and causality are the two major instances of schema-driven devices. These too can be characterised as linguistic reflections of the addressee's mind-style. Most of the adjectives are non-restrictive in that they do not help the addressee to uniquely identify the modified object (Huddleston 1988: 87); furthermore, they are banal modifiers which children learn to use as "nice phrases" at school: e.g. *o ghalanos uranos* (the blue sky), *mia orea voltula* (a nice little walk), *mia iliolusti mera* (a sunny day), *i ghiatri me tis aspres podhies* (the doctors in the white uniforms), *to kokkino fotaki* (the red little light). Two popular schema-driven modifiers are "*kalos-kakos*" (good-evil) which allude to the good-bad dichotomy typical of the morality of folk tradition (ie the good princess-the bad witch). Accordingly, people and acts are almost without exception characterised as "*kalos/kakos* (*feminine: kali/kaki*) *kirios* (*fem: kiria*)" (good or evil "gentleman/woman": the words *kirios/kiria* are honorific terms of address which characterise child language): e.g.

(72) a. ... *ki an dhen itan enas kalos kirios pu ihe to skilaki/ ke me ihe dhi pu eggho pigha na pexo me to skilaki/ na to stamatisi/ tha me ihe fai...*

... and if it wasn't for this **kind gentleman** who owned the **doggy** (diminutive)/ and who had seen me trying to play with **the doggy**/ to stop it/ it would have bitten me...

Adonis M., BSC

b. ... *e ke perpatusa perpatusa perpatusa monahula mu se mia kaki ghitionia/ pu i anthropi ine kaki/ ki elegha ston eafto mu na mi stenohoriete...*

... and I walked and walked and walked **all alone** (diminutive) in this **bad neighbourhood**/ where **the people are evil**/ and I was telling myself not to worry...

Aliki F., BSC

Causal expressions also reflect a tendency for simplification which aims at suiting the addressee's presumed intellectual abilities. Thus, the majority of them would strike an adult addressee as self-evident, redundant and unfortunate or simplistic explanations:

(73) a. ... *ke mu pire poli hrono mehri na tin voithiso na dithi/ ghiati kapios pu ehi spasi kati dhe bori na dithi monos tu/...*

... and it took me a long time to help her get dressed/ **because somebody who has broken something (a limb) can't get dressed alone/...**

Aggeliki K., BSC

b. ... *ki ihe simvi kapiro atihima/ ihe spasi to podhi tu to mulari/ ke to zoo dhe borusan na to afisun exo stin erimia mono tu/ ghiati tha to etroghe kanenas likos/...*

... and an accident had happened/ the mule had broken his leg/ and they couldn't leave the animal out there all alone/ **because a wolf would eat it/**

Foto B, FSC

c. ... *ihe kriosi ki ihe pireto/ ghiati itane mikrula ke dhen katalavene...*

... she had caught a cold and had a temperature/ **because she was a little little girl and didn't understand** (her condition?: ambiguous)

Ritsa T, WSC

Comparable is the phenomenon of *deconfabulation*. The deconfabulation of concepts was reported by Freedle et al (1977: 189) as a common strategy of simplification when talking to children. The process was found to involve the definition of concepts either with the head concept present (e.g. *Victorians, that is, some people a long time ago*) or with it missing (e.g. *some people a long time ago*). In the data, the former strategy is more predominant and frequently follows an almost rhetorical question to the addressee concerning his familiarity with the concept (see 74b below)²:

(74) a. ... *ki etsi lipon ton evalan to baba mu stin edatiki/ opu vazun osus ine varia arrosti...*

... and so they put my dad in the **intensive care/ where they put**

² This is a common pre-information routine in SC by which the narrators make sure that the addressee follows the storytelling in addition to promoting his involvement in it.

people who are very sick...

Alexandra B., BSC

b. ... *alla arghotera otan tus idha na
pernun mia sanidha tu surf/ xeris ti
ine to surf/*

(child) [[e mu fenete dhen ine]]

*ine mia sanidha pu anevenis pano/ ehi
ena pani/ ke to hrisimopiis otan ehi
ligho aera na kanis surf*

... but later on when I saw them grab a
wind-surfer/ you know what a wind-
surfer is/

(child) [[eh I think so isn't it]]

it's a board on which you stand/ it's
got a sail/ and you use it when
there's a bit of wind to wind-surf...

Vivi P., BSC

In some cases the definition is covert and takes the form of a paraphrase and/or elaboration of the notion:

c. ... *me tis sirines lipon dhinata fighame ghia to Pedhon/ pu ine ena
nosokomio meghalo mono ghia ta arrosta pedhakia...*

... so with loud sirens we set off for **the "Pedhon"** (the biggest children's hospital in Athens: its name means in Katharevousa the "Children's")/ **which is a big hospital only for sick little children...**

Ritsa T, WSC

d. ... *plakose lipon i pirosvestiki/ xeris ekina ta meghala kokkina
aftokinita/ ta lastiha pano tus solines tetia pramata/...*

... so there came **the fire engines/ those big red trucks** you know/ the hoses on top the tubes things like that/...

Ghiannis A., FSC

A *locus classicus* for the operation of schema-driven devices in the data is the sub-category of sensational narratives, namely death narratives. The euphemistic treatment of death commonly met in them forms a popular schema-driven thematic element which heavily draws on folk tradition. Thus, it is realised by a ready-made stock of

phrases and symbols: the dead person is referred to as the one who went on a long trip, flew to the blue sky, was taken away by the "good" God and can see the people down on earth from high up; the living should hope that they will meet the person again "in the sky" (the influence of the Christian religion in all these is obvious); time is what in such cases, cures everything and the predominant moral tenet is "*i zoi sinehizete*" ("life goes on").

As already suggested, schema-driven devices owe their evaluative function to their ability to evoke culturally appropriate and familiar "*endoxa*" (Eco 1979: 161), that is, shared views, attitudes, conventional templates and vocabularies of motives that apply to storytelling to children. In doing so though, they instantiate a policy of simplification and textual *closing* shaped by the narrators' assumptions about the audience. Specifically, by evoking the child-addressees' assumed schematic repertoire, they simply reinforce their prior generic knowledge (e.g. knowledge of the genre of storytelling to children, of fairy-tales etc) instead of challenging or extending it. Luke (1982: 57-79) suggested that such closure characterises textbooks for children where it is intended to prescribe the pragmatics of readerhood, that is, to control the reader's expectations and evocation of "possible worlds". This tendency is evidenced in SC by a series of choices, all of which generate a policy of didacticism that will be discussed in chapter 7. At the same time though, the propensity to cling to the fixed and the familiar, thus reinforcing learned codes rather than casting doubt on them, is not unique to SC but characterises MG storytelling to adults as well (see ch 7). As already seen, clichéd phrases also rely on involving the addressee by lending the stories "*a character of familiar*" thus "*giving the impression, indeed the reality, of a shared universe of discourse*" (Tannen 1989: 52).

5.1.5 Degrees of Internalising Evaluation

To put the discussion so far into perspective, all the devices focused upon above can be characterised as instances of the Labovian category of intensifiers on the basis of being superimposed onto the basic narrative syntax of the sentence. However, as suggested at the beginning of the discussion, this criterion obscures important

distinctions having to do with the specific evaluative functioning and effects of each of them. On the whole, the subtleties that characterise their evaluative uses, thus differentiating between them, pertain to the degree to which they internalise evaluation and to their role in the stories' texture or global discourse coherence. As Labov's scheme of evaluation suggests, the internalisation or embeddedness of evaluation in a story is not an all-or-nothing issue. It is rather a cline with numerous subtle distinctions. The argument here is that the same cline also applies to devices which are internally evaluative: in other words, internal evaluative devices can be more or less internalised.

To be more specific, lexicalised intensifiers or intensifiers by means of reduction are less internalised than paralinguistic intensifiers, reiteration patterns, details and ellipsis, though they all are internal evaluative devices. The narratorial interpretation is not completely effaced in them as shown by their use in utterances which encode the narrator's emotive reactions to the climactic action; in this way, they constitute the "raw material" of externally evaluated or of embedded evaluative lines. Thus, instead of suggesting that the narrator immediately verbalises and records the experience as if witnessing it, that is, without any time for narratorial judgement, they instantiate a case of a "*second-order interpretation*" (ie interpretation requiring a thought process on the part of the narrator, see Maynard 1985: 376). In fact, their common treatment as literacy-associated devices is congruent with this view. For instance, according to Tannen (1982) lexicalised intensifiers are more typical of literate use because of their decontextualising ability: they explicate the involvement between speaker and hearer which in oral communication is expressed through intonation and gestures. Chafe (1985) and Biber (1986) generally upheld this view except for cases of emphatic particles such as *just*, *really* etc which were reported to be more typical of spoken language. In a similar vein, Zellermayer (1991: 43-58) accounted for the smaller number of intensifiers in Hebrew texts compared to their English translations in terms of socioculturally determined assumptions about the reader's involvement. In particular, he suggested that the reduction of intensifiers in Hebrew texts is a major strategy by which the reader is invited to participate more actively in the processing

of the information. The basis of Zellermayer's claim is the assumption that intensifiers constitute textual cues of explicitness which facilitate the reader's inferencing by explicating authorial intentions.

The characterisation of intensifiers by reduction as "second-order interpretation" devices to an extent applies to clichés in their use for encoding references to characters' mental states and reactions to the high-point action. Schema-driven devices can also be characterised as less internalised than reiteration patterns, non-linguistic intensifiers, details and ellipsis: the latter ones show the point of the events narrated through involving the addressee either by means of rhythm or of sense-patterns, that is, without carrying any traces of narratorial judgement. However, schema-driven devices are more explicitly evaluative since their essence is to prescribe and offer guidance to the addressee's decoding of the point.

The criterion of the devices' role in the story's coherence sets reiteration patterns apart from the rest of the devices. The former present a distinct contribution to the construction of a story's global coherence: they serve it by means of their dual functionality, that is, by orchestrating their unfolding with their evaluative function (see ch 6). In this way, they contrast to the rest of the devices whose functionality is restricted to the story's evaluating and normally operates at the climactic part. The category of proximal devices, which will be discussed below, is aligned with reiteration patterns in that its major devices (ie Historical Present and Constructed Dialogue) also manifest a dual functionality. As will be shown, proximal devices constitute the devices *par excellence* of internal evaluation or *first-order interpretation* (ie eye-witness or scene-internal mode of narration, see Maynard 1985: 376).

5.1.6 Proximal Devices: Shifting into the Experiential Mode

As already suggested, the most important extension of the Labovian scheme of evaluative categories for the present data was the postulation of the category of proximals which proved to be a major component of the evaluating of MG storytelling. The category comprises the **Historical Present (HP)**, the **Constructed**

Dialogue (CD), the "**na+past progressive constructions**" and certain uses of the **past progressive** tense, and lastly **deictic shifters** such as this, now, here etc. These are commonly referred to as "*proximates*" or as "*displaced/empathetic*" *deixis* (see Lyons 1982, Schiffrin 1992b), that is, as *deixis* which is empathetically disengaged from its natural source of reference and located with reference to the storyteller's position in the immediate storytelling situation. The bond tying the above devices is their role in the manipulation of the concept of narrative distance: they all function as means for creating the illusion of proximity between the taleworld and the immediate situation of telling. Conveying this sense of proximity has a significant bearing on the teller-listener pact: the teller is presented as recording the experiences as if they were happening at the moment of their telling and by implication the listeners turn into co-witnesses of the events. Discussing the notion of temporal distance in narration as a powerful linguistic metaphor, Fleischman (1989: 31) suggested that

it is virtually impossible to tell a story without communicating either explicitly or as is far more common implicitly through a variety of linguistic means, some degree of distance or affinity, detachment from or involvement with the various elements ... of the story-world

In this play between distance and proximity that characterises the perspectival make-up of all narration, proximals figure in the data as the major devices for signalling a shift from the distant and "*reminiscing*" (idem: 32) mode of the past tense in which the narrator reports her memories, to the proximal "*visualising*" mode of the "here and now" of the storytelling situation in which the narrator presents the events as if witnessed and experienced at the moment of their telling. In this way, proximals instantiate a shift into what Lyons (1982: 68) called "*the experiential mode*" in which the events are presented as just occurring and the narrator is presented as just perceiving them. Thus, it is legitimate to claim that the sense of proximity which they convey is closely related to the narrator's subjective mode of narration. As Langacker (1985: 146) suggested, the notions of proximity and subjectivity form two closely related scales: proximity to an observer (in our case proximity of the taleworld to the narrator) implicates subjectivity while distance is associated with an objective mode

of presentation. An additional effect with which the lack of distance (proximity) can be aligned is that of the creation of a sense of iconicity between the events of the taleworld and the real experience events. The notion of iconicity interpreted widely covers all the devices by which a text becomes isomorphic with or iconic of the experience. Newmeyer (1992: 756) reviewing the state of the art on iconicity suggested that one of the distinct claims of the relevant research is that iconic principles govern speakers' choices of structurally available options in discourse. Proximal evaluatives can be argued to fall into this line of research: they form part of the structurally available options by which narrative discourse exhibits iconicity. In Enkvist's terms (1981: 101) they are exponents of a text strategy of "*experiential iconicism*" by which the text becomes mimetic or an icon of the experience.

To sum up, the criterial feature of the evaluative function of proximal devices is the sense of experiential immediacy or iconicity that they convey; in this way, they act as markers of the narrator's subjectivity. The major proximal devices in the data are the Historical Present and Constructed Dialogue: these will be discussed separately as the dual functionality (unfolding and evaluating) devices par excellence (see ch 6). Thus, their evaluative patterns will be dealt with in detail then. Here, the focus will be placed on the proximal uses of the **past progressive** and on **na+imperfective past** construction. The contention is that the function of both devices in the data fits the definition of proximal evaluatives. To begin with the past progressive, in the Labovian model (1972) its occurrences in narrative are classified in the evaluative category of correlatives which base their evaluative functioning on aligning an event with other ongoing events. However, the treatment which best suits the situation in the data requires an explicit recognition of the relation of the device's evaluative function to the effects of proximity and experiential iconicism. A highly comparable view is found in Wright's work (1987, 1992) who argued that (present and past) progressive forms frequently function in literary narration in exactly the same way as the Historical Present, that is, as devices which establish a *phenomenal (subjective)* mode of presentation of the events as opposed to a *structural (temporal, objective)* presentation of events. In other words, they emphasise in subjective (emotional) rather than in

temporal terms the connection between the speaker and the event as a proximal relation. Wright went on to argue that in such an "experiential" use of the progressive what Lyons (1982) refers to as non-temporal (additional) meanings/uses of a tense take precedence over their temporal meaning. This means that the forms are primarily devices for expressing subjectivity rather than for grammaticalising temporal and aspectual distinctions. In fact, Wright (1992) claimed that the experiential progressive is non-aspectual: it does not bear on the internal structure of the situation described, since it is presented as inherent to the teller's own subjective world. This view can be aligned with the argument proposed here whose very crux is that the past progressive forms base their evaluative functioning on marking a shift into the narrator's experiential mode rather than on aligning an event with other ongoing events as a result of their aspect.

The same line of treatment holds for "**na+past progressive**" as well, which is a language- and in particular narrative-specific construction in MG. The only attempt to account for its discursal function is found in Mackridge (1985: 285) who claimed that the device owes its dramatic effect to suggesting that the actions described are extended in time or iterative. Mackridge's view, if translated into Labovian terms, is that the device is a correlative, since the main criterion employed for its characterisation is its aspectual character. However, this characterisation fails to capture the device's effect of proximity. Specifically, its main function in the data appears to be the shifting out of the reportive, distant mode of the aorist and into the subjective world of the narrator which is projected as immediate. In a similar vein as here, though in principle endorsing Labov's argument that a present progressive form evaluates an event "*by aligning it with other events which occurred at the same time*" (1972: 387), Schifffrin claimed that its use in particular in the case of quotative verbs is

a way of making a past event sound as if it were occurring at the moment of speaking, a way of making it more vivid

1981: 59

In view of this suggestion and taking into account the fact that there is no grammaticised distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect in the present tense of MG, it can be argued that the proximal use of the past progressive in the data and its co-occurrence with instances of Constructed Dialogue (also see ch 6) act as a device similar to the "experiential" present progressive of English. In other words, using the past progressive form to convey the same immediacy and subjectivity as the present progressive form does in English seems to be a language-specific resource of vividness in MG. Among the textual diagnostics in the data corroborating the view that the imperfective past and na+imperfective past should be treated as proximal evaluative devices are both their context of occurrence and their co-occurrence with the rest of the proximal devices. Specifically, they occur in the climactic part of the story where they normally encode the results of the high point action. In these cases, they strongly co-occur with the HP and CD; in forming part of the HP and CD pattern they contribute to a sense of experiential iconicity (see ch 6). The following examples illustrate their use. Due to the lack of an equivalent structure in English, "na" will be kept as it is in the translation, followed by the past progressive participle of the verb.

(75) a. The climactic extract is from a story about the arrest of the narrator's father during the Greek civil war (1944-1949):

*(climactic turn) lipon vgheni exo tote...
/... ton pernune/...*

*ekini i mana mu na klei na htipiete na
odhirete/ na klei ke na prosefhete ke
na lei/ panaghia mu ti kako me vrike/*

*egho tora eklegha/ elegha patera pu se
pane pu mas afinis monus mas/ evlepa
oti ton pane ghia thanato/ su leo tora
eniotha oti efighe ghia pada...*

*(climactic turn) so he goes out
then.../... they take him/...*

*my poor mum na crying na shouting
na mourning/ na crying and na
praying and na saying/ my God what
kind of misery is this/*

*I was crying now/ I was saying dad
where do they take you to/ where do
you leave us all alone/ I could see
(past progressive in the original) that
they are leading him to death/ I am
telling you I was feeling now that he
left for ever...*

Hristos H., BSA

In this example, na+past progressive and past progressive co-operate in the encoding of the emotive reactions to the climactic event in the HP (ie the father's arrest).

b. After the climactic announcement of the narrator's sister's death in HP and CD (also see example 112a)

*...tora katalavenis oti muggathikame/
kanenas dhe milaghe katholu/ dhe
boruse ute foni na vghali i mana mu/
klinume ta parathira mesa sto spiti/*

*...now you realise that we were
dumbfounded/ nobody was speaking
not at all/ my mum couldn't utter
(imperfective past in the original) a
word/ at all/ we shut the windows in
the house/*

*me pernun emena aggalia/ me
filaghane me filaghane ke dhe
milaghane tora/...*

*they hug me/ they were kissing me
they were kissing me and they were
not speaking now/...*

Athina H., BSA

In the example above, there are no instances of na+past progressive: the encoding of the characters' emotive states is taken over by the proximal imperfective past corroborated by two HP instances of evaluative action.

c. ... (climactic turn) opote *klidhonome*
sto plistario/ sti ghonia/ ke fssss/

*... (climactic turn) so I lock myself in
the laundry room/ in the corner
(ellipsis: I go to the corner)/ and
weeeeeee (onomatopoeia and ellipsis)/*

*ke na rhere o Kostas ke na lei ti kanis
esi eki pera/ xero ti kanis/*

*and Kostas na coming and saying
what are you doing there/ I know what
you're doing/*

*egho na tu leo dhen xeris/ afu dhen
xeris ti xeris/ xeris/...*

*I na saying you don't know/ since you
don't know what you know/ do you
know/...*

Hariklia A., FSC

d. ... (climactic turn) *opos to peze baaam/ oh pio pano itan i struga/ pire tu Stavru to dufeki lei ke to rixe lei/ tha to skotoso tora/*

piastetone tora/ erhotane tora/ dhiavolopedho tha skotosis ton kosmo/ ke dhiaolus/ ki afta/

barba-Hristo ekane o allos/ min to varesis ghiati dhen to pire to dufeki/...

... (climactic turn) as he was tampering with it (the shotgun) *baaang/ oh no the sheep-farm was just up the road/ she took Stavros' shotgun he says and fired he says/ I'll kill it (her) now/*

there was no stopping him **now** (lit: **catch him now**)/ **he was coming now**/ you brat you'll kill someone/ and curses and things like that/

barba-Hristos (honorific+proper name) the other one **was going**/ don't hit it (the child)/ because she didn't touch the shotgun...

Avghi I., FSA

The two examples above illustrate a common case in the data, which is the use of na+past progressive and past progressive for the quotative verbs of instances of CD (also see example 76a). At the same time, they illustrate the pattern of co-occurrence that proximal devices exhibit, in particular for setting off the story's climactic part (see §6.6.1). In both examples, the climactic turn is marked by a shift to the HP followed by proximal instances of speech; proximal deixis is an integral part of the scene of experiential iconicism.

On the whole, the norm for the occurrences of the proximal imperfective past and na+imperfective past in the climax is that they are intercalated into a pattern whose building blocks are the HP and CD. However, there are also cases in the data in which only the climactic turn is marked by a HP verb (underlined in 76a,b below) and the rest of the climax is rendered almost entirely in na+imperfective past covering both instances of action and CD (bold):

(76) a. ... *ke stamatane brosta safto to dhromo/ brosta i kafeteria to sale/ ghnosto poli ghnosto/*

... and they stop in front of us at the street/ in front the cafeteria (street coffee-place) the "Chalet"/ well-known very well-known/

*ke to meghafono na lei afto to
traghudhi para ra ra ra tu ru ru rum/
ki o Zoughanelis apo to mikrofono na
lei papaaaares ipokofa/*

(he he)

*ke na peftune i sokolates tora apo to
fortigho/ ke na tis petai kato se mas
sta trapezakia/*

*ke na perni enas tis sokolates/ ke na
tis petai piso/ emis imaste eki pera/*

*ke na ghinete tora enas polemos me tis
sokolates/ ke na vlepume tis sokolates
na peftune sto fortigho/ ke to
Zoughaneli na lei afto to papaaaares/
ke muuuuuuu sa vodhi/*

(he he)

ghelioooo/ ti ghelio epese ekino to proi/

and the (lorry's) loudspeaker **na playing** this song "para ra ra ra tu ru ru rum" (humming the tune)/ and Zughanelis (famous Greek satyrlist) **na saying** over the mike papaaaares (word-play on the previous tune: the word papares is slang for testicles) in a deep voice/

(he he)

and **now chocolates na being thrown off** the truck/ and **he na throwing them** at us at the tables/

and **somebody na taking** the chocolates/ and **na throwing them** back (at the lorry)/ we were there/

and (we) **na seeing** a rain of chocolates falling on the lorry/ and Zughaneli **na saying** this "papaaares" thing/ and mooing like a cow (lit: muuuuu like a cow)/

(he he)

"laughteeer"/ "what laughter fell that morning" (that was a really good laugh)

Takis G., FSA

(for the whole story see Appendix, ex. 5)

b. From a story in which the narrator almost misses the train due to her weakness for buying clothes:

*... ke se kapia fasi pia kataferno
plirono ke fevgume/ ke pame pros to
stathmo/*

*opu xafnika na ghini o Alex exallos/
na allaxi hilia hromata/ na mu lei pio
ghrighora kane pio ghrighora/ ki afto
tha mu to plirosis/ ke esi dhen ehis to
theo su/ ki esi ehis psihosi/*

... and at some point I manage to pay
and we leave (the shop)/ and we head
towards the train station/

and **suddenly Alex na becoming** (na+perfective past) furious/ **na changing** (na+perfective past) "thousands of colours" (idiomatic expression for anger)/ **na going** quick

move on/ and I'll remember this/ and
you are something else (lit: you have
got no god)/ and you are a psycho/

*ke na fevghi to treno/ ki eghe tora na
leo kita ti tha patho ghia ena
pukamiso/...*

**and the train na leaving/ and I na
saying (thinking) now** look what's
happened to me for a stupid shirt/...

Iliana G., FSA

Similarly, in the two climactic stanzas of the second climax of the story of "**Forty Five Johnnies**" there is a division of labour between proximal HP and na+imperfective past in the creation of experiential iconicism: the first climactic stanza is rendered in the HP and the second in na+imperfective past ("and the rest na going on to kill him/ and Ghiorghos na whacking them like this with the one arm/ and na holding the other like this").

As may be inferred from the above, there are no cases in the data in which proximal uses of progressive forms occur in a story where no other proximal devices appear. This is strong evidence for the argument that proximal devices tend to co-occur and cluster together (see §6.5). Their co-occurrence as a rule builds whole scenes of iconicism in which the camera zooms in and the events are being unfolded in an eye-witness fashion. Normally these scenes constitute the story's climax, except for the cases in which the two major proximals, namely the HP and CD reach their level of saturation (see §6.6.3). In such cases, the role of minor proximal devices, namely the progressive forms and empathetic deixis, is to strengthen the co-operation of HP and CD in the creation of an experiential pace of narration.

A final point concerns a rare structure consisting of *na* followed by perfective rather than imperfective past. Though very restricted in use (notice that it is missing from the discussion of the narrative *na* in Mackridge 1985), the construction acts exactly as na+imperfective past in terms of context of occurrence and co-occurrence with other devices. It was thus coded in the data along with the rest of the proximal evaluative devices: e.g.

(77) Closing the story by recapping the story's point through reference to the results of the climactic event which is the accident of the narrator's daughter:

itane tromero/ tromero/ pede lepta/

it was terrible/ terrible/ five minutes/

*na pame sto banio/ na tu rixume nero/
na aftosume/*

we na go (perfective past) to the
bathroom/ **na throw** it (the child)
water/ **na do** things like that/

*na vgho eghe na htipiso safton/ na
trexume sta skalia kato/ na pari to
aftokinito na vali brosta/ ke na
ftasume stin platia Anexartias/*

I na come out and knock at his (the
neighbour's) door/ **na run down** the
stairs/ **na take** the car and start it/ **and**
we na arrive at Independence square/

san trelli kaname/

we acted like crazy/

Thomas H., FSC

5.2 Coding the Evaluative Devices

An initial distinction pertaining to the coding of evaluative devices in the data is that between external and internal evaluation (see §2.4.4.1 for the frequency of external evaluation). The broad category of internal evaluation comprises all the devices discussed so far as well as devices from the remaining three categories of the Labovian typology, that is, comparators, correlatives and explicatives. Of these categories, comparators and explicatives remained intact but correlatives were preserved only for evaluative uses of the past progressive which do not qualify for proximals since the rest of its devices are either absent in MG (e.g. present progressive) or they do not occur in the data (e.g. double appositives). The correlative uses of imperfective past involve cases of ongoing action or embedded orientation which do not convey subjective immediacy but evaluate the event through emphasising its repeated aspect: e.g.

(78) ... *ki opos kathomuna to kana
hratsa hrits/ a orea leo/ dhen perni
fotia/*

... and as I was sitting **I was messing
around** with the trigger (lit: doing it
hratsa hrits)/ oh good I say/ it doesn't
fire/

*ke glap to sikona to xanagherna/ dhen
eperne/ ...*

**and "glap" I was lifting it I was
turning it over once again/ it didn't
fire (imperfective past in the data)/**

Sofia I., FSA
(also see examples 1 and 99)

In this example the evaluative function of the past progressive (imperfect) lies in that it creates the appropriate suspense before the onset of the climactic turn (ie the firing of the shotgun) by means of emphasising the repeated character of the action which led to it.

To sum up, the internal evaluative devices coded in the data are as follows:

- a. Non-linguistic markers of intensity
- b. Linguistic markers of intensity
- c. Reiteration devices
- d. Involvement strategies through sense patterns (details-ellipsis)
- e. Clichéd Phrases
- f. Schema-driven devices (only in SC)
- g. Proximal devices
- h. Comparators
- i. Explicatives
- g. Correlative imperfective past

In addition, the data was coded for the intermediate categories of embedded evaluation, namely references to characters' emotive states or physical occurrences (presented as results of the high point action) and instances of evaluative action (again as a result of the climactic event, see §2.4.4.1). Each line of a story was coded for the above devices with the aim of computing the percentage of each type of evaluative device with respect to the total number of lines in a story. The coding was accompanied by the following basic decisions:

- a. Cases of dialogue were counted as one instance of CD. The same goes

for instances of CD with more than one occurrence of an HP quotative verb. This was counted as evaluative only once.

- b. In cases of stories with reported text (ie instances of CD), a separate count was conducted with respect to the evaluation devices of the reported lines. This allowed us to have an overall view of evaluative devices favoured in the non-reported text as compared to the reported text of a narrative. It was essentially a decision which recognised the differences between the two texts.

5.3 Discussion of the Findings: The Experiential Pace of Stories to Adults

The first step towards computing internal evaluation in the data was to perform an ANOVA for its overall use in the different corpora. The results showed that there are no significant inter-corporal differences with regard to the mean percentages of the internally evaluated lines of the stories: as table 13 below shows, on average one third of the stories' text is internally evaluated.

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC	WSA	WSC
Internal Evaluation	32.1	33.3	38.5	35.6	35.8	34.6

Table 13: Mean Percentages of Internal Evaluation

Subsequently, to investigate the evaluative devices of the data in relation to the main independent variables of this research design and thus test the normativity of their use, a repeated measures two-way ANOVA was performed for the basic and written corpus (80 stories altogether) and a two-way ANOVA for the free corpus (only 40 stories in this case, due to practical limitations). These examined the use of evaluative devices in each corpus as a function of (the narrators') sex and age. The evaluative devices examined in this case were as follows: markers of intensity (linguistic and non-linguistic), proximals, reiteration devices, comparators, details/ellipsis and schema-

driven devices. The results concerning the basic and written corpus suggested that there was no significant effect of each of the two variables, sex: $F(6, 96) = 1.23$, age: $F(6, 96) = 1.31$, or of their interaction, sex x age: $F(6, 96) = 1.28$, on the use of the evaluative devices. The same finding applies to the free corpus as well: no significant differences emerged in the frequency of the evaluative devices as a function of sex, $F(6, 228) = 1.89$, age, $F(6, 228) = 1.76$, or sex x age, $F(6, 228) = 1.82$.

The above results provided further evidence for the view strongly suggested by the qualitative analysis of the data that there is a closed set of recurrent evaluative "ways of telling" to which storytellers, independent of age or gender, feel compelled to adhere in order to ensure their stories' tellability. As regards the audience-related differences in the use of each of the internal evaluative devices separately (all categories listed in §5.2 were examined here), the results of the analyses are as follows (for the devices' mean percentages see tables 14 and 15 below):

- a. There is an overwhelming difference in the use of proximal evaluative devices which though very popular in SA are significantly reduced in SC, both in the basic corpus, $F(1, 16) = 32.81$, $p < .001$, and in the free corpus, $F(1, 38) = 40.76$, $p < .001$.
- b. By contrast, linguistic markers of intensity are favoured in SC significantly more than in SA. This finding again applies to the basic corpus, $F(1, 16) = 8.89$, $p < .01$, as well as the free corpus, $F(1, 38) = 19.42$, $p < .001$.
- c. The same goes for non-linguistic markers of intensity, $F(1, 16) = 12.54$, $p < .01$, $F(1, 38) = 5.62$, $p < .05$. This last difference is immediately related to the use of non-linguistic markers of intensity in the reported text of SA vs SC which will be discussed below.
- c. Of the involvement strategies through sense patterns, ellipsis is opted

for more in SA, both in the basic corpus, $F(1, 16) = 4.53$, $p < .05$, and in the free corpus, $F(1, 38) = 9.26$, $p < .01$.

- d. The rest of the internal evaluative devices do not present any significant differences between SA and SC (see table 15). The most popular of these, namely comparators, exhibit a striking consistency in use, which is unaffected by both the audience variable (basic corpus: $F(1, 16) = 0.12$, free corpus: $F(1, 38) = 0.11$) and the modality variable ($F(1, 16) = 0.30$). This suggests that MG stories possess a steady evaluative component that is devoted to showing their point by "*moving away from the line of narrative events to consider unrealised possibilities*" (Labov 1972: 371).
- e. The final significant difference between SA and SC emerged for instances of embedded evaluation which are favoured more in both BSC, $F(1, 16) = 12.63$, $p < .01$, and FSC, $F(1, 38) = 9.41$, $p < .01$.
- f. Instances of lexicalised intensifiers were found to positively correlate with embedded and external evaluation both in BSC ($r = .4579$, $p < .05$) and in FSC ($r = .4097$, $p < .01$). This finding confirms the view that lexicalised intensifiers function as second-order interpretation devices (see §5.1.5). Additionally, it accords with the increased use of intensifiers and embedded evaluation in SC by contrast to SA.
- g. The findings of the coding of the stories' reported text (see table 14 below) for their evaluative devices (proximal devices were naturally not coded here) are generally congruent with the findings that pertain to the non-reported text. Specifically, linguistic markers of intensity and embedded evaluation are favoured more in SC, while ellipsis is employed more in SA. The use of non-linguistic markers of intensity however presents a reversal of predilection: this time, it is opted for

significantly more in BSA compared to BSC, $F(1, 16) = 12.71$, $p < .01$, as well as in FSA compared to FSC, $F(1, 38) = 19.66$, $p < .001$. This finding is inextricably bound up with the importance and status of proximal devices -especially of CD- in SA. In particular, it is traceable to the phenomenon of the narrator's imitation of the quality of voice and prosody of the character whose speech is reported in instances of CD. This choice that has been frequently reported as accompanying vivid instances of characters' speech (e.g. Tannen 1989: 26) maximises the iconicity effect brought about by instances of CD. As Stempel (1986: 209) suggested, in these cases the "*optical visualisation*" that the use of CD entails is complemented by an "*acoustic visualisation*" with the result of intensifying the effect of "*quasi-referential presence*" involved in the "*copying of an utterance act*". The fact that CD instances are systematically avoided in the SC as well as exhibit less dramatic quality, when occurring, implicates the reduced use of the accompanying non-linguistic markers of intensity.

A final point that needs to be made concerns the frequency of reiteration patterns: these did not present any differences between SA and SC in this particular coding, since their evaluative instances were counted as an undifferentiated lump. However, as will be shown in chapter 6, when broken down into specific evaluative uses, reiteration patterns yield significant differences in frequency between SA and SC. Specifically, the evaluative type of reiteration patterns which correlates with proximal devices (see ch 6) is favoured in SA, but is significantly reduced in SC.

In view of the discussion of the specific function and effects of each evaluative device so far, the above findings suggest that SA rely on a **strategy of experiential iconicity and involvement by means of mutual sense-making** for the construction of their evaluation component, while SC promote a strategy of "**second-order interpretation**" and "**mediation**" of evaluation. Specifically, the intense presence of proximal devices in SA, in particular in the free corpus (see ch 6), underlies the creation of an

experiential pace of narration as the major criterial feature of the act of evaluating in MG storytelling among intimates. This sense of iconicity is nicely complemented by reiteration patterns which have not been discussed yet, by non-linguistic markers of intensity as enhancers of the dramatisation of CD and by the involving device of ellipsis. The result of these different devices is an evaluative component with a strong performed and involving character which presents the events as closer to the narrator and the audience both temporally and psychologically; as a corollary, it promotes the addressee's active participation and engagement in the taleworld so that the uncovering of the story's point is attained by means of the "community of rapport" between storyteller and audience.

By contrast, the evaluation of SC favours more devices which carry traces of narratorial interpretation, thus guiding the act of decoding the story's point: this is the case of embedded evaluation, linguistic markers of intensity and of schema-driven devices. More important than the actual presence of these devices is the absence of proximal devices, that is, the absence of the overall effect of iconicity and performance of the storytelling in SC. In this way, the use of second-order interpretation evaluative devices is not counterbalanced by features which establish an atmosphere of dramatisation. A crucial element differentiating between the SA and SC in terms of their tapestry of evaluative devices involves the co-operation of evaluation with unfolding. As will be discussed in chapter 6, the major machinery of evaluation in the SA is part of a complex textual strategy which orchestrates and coordinates unfolding and evaluating by means of dual function devices (the case of HP and CD). However, evaluation in SC is an exponent of a simpler strategy in that it is mainly realised by devices which do not contribute to the story's unfolding.

Another implication of the different evaluative choices in SA vs SC involves the affiliation of the latter with the written-based model of narration. Specifically, as proved to be the case with unfolding devices too, the analysis of evaluative devices in written stories (see table 15) suggested that the strategy of evaluation underlying their use is compatible with that in SC: compared to (oral) SA, the major exponents

of this strategy are the systematic avoidance of proximal devices (see table 15 below) and an increased predilection for lexicalised markers of intensity and embedded evaluation. This affinity between SC and written stories will be elucidated in chapters 6 and 7.

The findings discussed in this section are illustrated in tables 14 and 15 below which present the mean percentages of each type of evaluative device in relation to the total number of the stories' lines (table 15) and of their reported text (table 14).

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC
NL Markers of Intensity	57.1	35	62.4	39.9
L Markers of Intensity	5.7	20	3.6	15.9
Reiteration Patterns	17.4	15	12.6	14.3
Details	4.3	2	6.2	3.9
Ellipsis	8.3	1	9.3	2.3
Clichés	2.9	2	3.2	1.3
Schema-driven Devices	-	10	-	8.9
Comparators	24.3	20	21.6	23.3
Explicatives	2.9	5	1.3	3.9
Correlative Imperf. Past	2.9	2	0.5	2.3
Embedded Evaluation	8.3	20	5.4	17.9

Table 14: Frequency of Evaluative Devices in the Stories' Reported Text

5.4 Summary

This chapter completed the investigation of the specific devices pertinent to each of the three components of the binding-unfolding-evaluating scheme by exploring the stories' evaluating. The first task emerging as a necessity from the data analysis was the operationalisation of evaluation. This yielded twelve categories of evaluative devices of which only three (comparators, explicatives and embedded evaluation) were faithful to the Labovian model. Another two (proximal and schema driven devices) were entirely the product of the data particularities, thus bearing no relation to any of

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC	WSA	WSC
NL Markers of Intensity	13.2	19.8	16.8	25.9	-	-
L Markers of Intensity	6.2	14.7	3.1	12.6	15.6	14.3
Reiteration Patterns	18.8	16.7	19.1	21.5	12.2	10.3
Details	4.5	5.7	4.3	3.5	3.2	1.3
Ellipsis	5.2	1.6	6.3	0.7	1.8	1.3
Clichés	2.8	0.5	4.3	0.9	3.2	1.1
Schema-driven Devices	-	9.2	-	11.6	-	8.4
Proximal Devices	25.2	3.6	37.2	6.6	6.2	3.9
Comparators	9.1	11.4	11.2	10.4	9.9	10.3
Explicatives	2.8	2.7	0.7	1.9	2.7	3.1
Correlative Imperf. Past	1.2	1.6	0.7	2.9	3.2	1.3
Embedded Evaluation	4.2	9.4	2.8	7.5	9.9	8.4

Table 15: Frequency of Evaluative Devices (Excluding the Reported Text)

Labov's sub-categories of evaluation. The rest are subsumed under broad types of evaluation (mainly intensifiers) in the Labovian scheme; however, the discussion made a case for treating them separately and in their own right on the grounds of their distinct discursual functionality. In addition to postulating a typology of evaluative devices for the data, a distinction was posed between the devices' degrees of internalising evaluation. It was contended that these form a cline in which the "scene-internal" or "first-order interpretation" devices *par excellence* are the proximals. The proximals were also found to constitute the major differentiating element between SA and SC in terms of their evaluative choices. Specifically, the quantitative analysis of evaluation in the data unravelled a strategy of experiential iconicity and involvement by means of mutual sense-making as a regulatory force of evaluation in SA, as opposed to a strategy of second-order interpretation and mediation of evaluation in SC. In this latter case, the addressee's involvement is mainly encouraged through evoking the familiar (ie schema-driven devices) and through drawing on cultural vocabularies of motives for encoding attitudes (ie linguistic markers of intensity, embedded evaluation).

The story of evaluation is not complete yet: what is missing is a detailed discussion

of the major axes around which the evaluation of MG performed storytelling revolves. These are the HP and CD and the inter-stanza reiteration patterns promoted by their co-operation. They will be discussed in the following chapter where emphasis will be placed on their patterns of use, that is, on the "where" of their evaluation function in the stories.

Chapter 6

Orchestrating Unfolding with Evaluating: The Case of Dual Function Devices

6.0 Introduction

As already suggested, one of the criterial premises of multi-level approaches to discourse is the form-function anisomorphism. In the data, this anisomorphism is instantiated *par excellence* in the case of the *dual function devices*, that is, of devices that exhibit both a binding/unfolding and an evaluative function. As will be shown, their duality of function is proposed to be a cline ranging from purely unfolding or evaluative uses to various degrees of orchestration of the two functions which culminates in the *level of saturation*. Naturally, the devices also work at the level of local organisation: this binding function is presupposed by their inclusive function of unfolding. The category of dual function devices comprises the **Reiteration Patterns**, the **Historical Present (HP)** and the **Constructed Dialogue (CD)**. While all three are tied together by means of their discourse functionality, the HP and CD present a unique affinity regarding their patterns of use and will thus be discussed together.

Thus, to begin with reiteration patterns, the relevant discourse-analytic literature has emphasised their evaluative function and only marginally their macroorganisational role in narrative (e.g. Grimes 1975, Hymes 1981). By contrast, their local role as a "tying" device, which can be characterised as a "binding-level" role, has been particularly stressed within the systemic framework. In Halliday & Hasan's (1976) work on cohesion and in Hasan's study of a text's cohesive harmony (1984), repetition figures as an important category of lexical cohesion. However, beyond local-level ties, the function of reiteration patterns as global links (ie macrosegmentational devices) has been overshadowed by emphasis on their evaluative functioning. Starting from Labov's treatment of repetition as an intensifier, discourse analysts have gradually drawn attention to its expressive and involving role (see §5.1.2). As with the HP and CD (see §6.4), the thesis put forth for reiteration patterns, namely their duality of

function, takes a step forward with regard to the relevant literature which as a rule recognises only one of the two functions.

6.1 Forms of Reiteration Patterns in the Data

As already discussed and exemplified (see §3.2.2.1), the most noticeable manifestation of reiteration patterns in the data is their alignment with tripartite schemes in cases of immediate word or phrase repetition or paraphrase. This co-operation functions as a major device of stanza-organisation (ie stanza-formative mechanism). At the same time, their realisation in the culturally determined and powerful form of tripartite schemes intensifies their evaluative effect. A considerably less frequent form is the "scheme of twos" realised either by reduplication (e.g. *sigha sigha*: slowly slowly, *ghrighora ghrighora*: quickly quickly) or by lexical paraphrastic couplets (e.g. *i mana mu klei ke htipiete*: my mum mourns and sobs). These are again culturally appropriate ways of signalling repeated action (Tannen 1983), emphasis and intensity (see Abbi 1975 cited in Tannen 1987: 579 for reduplication in South Asian languages). While reiteration devices in the forms discussed above are immediate, a large number of them are non-immediate. The distinction between **immediate** and **non-immediate** is obviously scalar rather than absolute. However, in order to have a certain measure, any repetition which had the distance of at least one line from the previous mention of the repeated phrase was coded as non-immediate (delayed). Subsequently, to be able to explore their organisational role, non-immediate reiteration devices were examined along the axis of the texts' constituents (ie stanzas). Thus, a further distinction was posed between **intra-stanza** and **inter-stanza non-immediate reiteration patterns**. In view of these distinctions, the typology of reiteration patterns applied to the data is as follows:

- a. **Repetition** (immediate or non-immediate; non-immediate further coded as intra-stanza or inter-stanza): Following Tannen (1987: 586), the category was not treated as absolute but as forming a scale. Thus, it not only included exact repetition but also *repetition with variation*, which is repetition with changes of person and tense and slight changes of wording (idem): e.g.

(79) a. ... *tha kano minisi tus eleghe/ tha kanume ki emis minisi/...*

... he was going I'll sue you/ we'll sue you too/

From "Forty Five Johnnies"

The above is treated as an instance of immediate repetition despite the change of person.

b. **Paraphrase** (immediate or non-immediate and furthermore intra-stanza or inter-stanza). Paraphrase involves repetition of content but not of form. However, partial repetition of form as well quite frequently accompanies paraphrase:

b. *tora katalavenis oti mugathikame/ kanenas dhe milaghe katholu/
kanenas dhen boruse na vghali ute foni katholu/*

now you understand that **we were dumbfounded/ nobody could
speak/ nobody had anything to say/**

Athina H., BSA
(same as ex. 24)

c. **Parallelism** (immediate or non-immediate; intra-stanza or inter-stanza): prototypically this category is the opposite of paraphrase, that is, it involves sameness of form and difference of content. In Tannen's terms this prototypical form of parallelism is called "*patterned rhythm*" (Tannen 1987: 586) and is defined as a repetition scheme in which wholly different words are uttered in the same syntactic and rhythmic paradigm as a preceding utterance. However, here as well, partial repetition of wording is not excluded; on the contrary, it normally corroborates the effect of a parallelistic scheme:

c. ... *ki o Ghiorghos omos na kopanai etsi me to ena heri/ ke to allo na
to kratai etsi...*

... and George whacking them like this with the one arm/ and holding
the other arm like this/

(From "Forty Five Johnnies")

d. **Contrast** (immediate or non-immediate; intra-stanza or inter-stanza): in Hoey's (1987) model of episodic analysis, contrast and repetition were both characterised as matching relationships. The contrast relations which were coded in this typology are only those that involve either repetition or parallelism:

d. *poneses re poneses tu kaname/ (imitating) malakulia itan ta herakia tu/ tsuzan ta skabilakia tu/...*

did it hurt did it hurt (notice the immediate repetition) we were going/ (imitating the reply) **his little hands (diminutive) were soft/ but his little slaps were sore/**

Sofia I., FSA

In this example, the contrast is realised by means of parallelism.

6.1.1 Distribution of Reiteration Patterns: Binding Analysis

Frequency measures of repetition in a text as a whole have been a standard analytical tool in studies which have argued for the fact that texts for children are more repetitious or cohesively tied than texts for adults (e.g. Anderson 1984, Ochs Keenan 1977). The device's binding-level function in the data was captured by computing its instances in relation to a story's lines. As table 16 below shows, this count did not show any significant differences between SA and SC or between oral and written stories.

Differences emerged with regard to specific patterns. In particular, SA favour immediate repetition significantly more than SC, both in the basic corpus ($t=-2.51$, $df=19$, $p<.05$), and in the free corpus ($t=-2.70$, $df=58$, $p<.01$), which instead opt for immediate paraphrase (see table 17 at the end of §6.2). This suggests that paraphrasing rather than exactly repeating an utterance is assumed to be a more effective means of helping the child-addressees grasp its point. The next finding brought to the fore the orality-associated nature of repetition. This is reflected in its significant decrease in written stories in favour of (mainly immediate) parallelism (table 17). The features of parallelism that can be argued to suit written modality more lie in the covertness and

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC	WSA	WSC
Total Numbers	205	148	296	150	160	101
Mean Percentages	20.4	17.9	21.3	22.1	18.3	16.8

Table 16: Frequency of Reiteration

subtlety of its patterning (Johnstone 1987: 95) that imply more planning time. On the whole, the binding-level analysis of reiteration patterns suggested that SA are very close to SC in this respect. As the discussion below will show, their differences lie in the ways in which these patterns operate at the global level of macrosegmentation and of evaluation.

6.2 Modes of Unfolding and Evaluative Functioning

The first form of dual functionality is met at the level of immediate reiteration patterns: as already discussed (§3.2.2.1), these function as a stanza-formative mechanism particularly in co-operation with the tripartite patterning. At the same time, they present the evaluative effect of sweeping the listeners along, that is, of involving them through their rhythmic patterns. However, the most intricate and pervasive modes of unfolding and evaluative functioning occur at the level of non-immediate reiteration patterns: these serve the global segmentation strategy and intensify the story's point in ways which will be discussed below.

Prior to the discussion, it has to be underlined that the first major indication of the patterns' macrosegmentational functioning is their salient placement with regard to stanzas: more than half of them occur at textual units' boundaries, that is, they are either stanza-initial or stanza-final. Thus, unlike the rest of the unfolding devices discussed so far, they not only demarcate stanza initiations but also stanza closures. A third case of strategic positioning unique to them, namely the case of symmetrical positioning, will be discussed in §6.2.3.

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC	WSA	WSC
Imm. Repetition	26.2	10.4	30.7	18.4	5.3	3.4
Non-Immediate	27.7	25.7	33.3	28.4	11.3	7.3
Imm. Paraphrase	14.1	23.3	16.2	20.7	18.8	13.3
Non-Immediate	6.2	9.4	3.7	7.3	8.1	4.9
Imm. Parallelism	10.8	12.2	6.7	14.7	27.5	41.5
Non-immediate	0.9	2.2	1.3	3.4	11.3	6.4
Imm. Contrast	9.7	10.3	6.4	5.6	14.4	18.3
Non-Immediate	4.4	6.5	1.7	1.4	3.3	4.9

Table 17: Binding Distribution of Reiteration Patterns

6.2.1 Repetition as "Pop" Marker

Strategically positioned as (delayed) stanza-initial, this type of repetition is reminiscent of Polanyi's (1988) "*pop*" markers which take the story back to the opening phrase of a segment where a backtrack (push) took place. In other words, *pop-type repetition* ties the prior to the upcoming text thus acting as a stage-setting (ie discourse-structuring) device. Its context of occurrence covers cases in which an utterance normally encoding action is repeated after its first mention has been interrupted/interfered by a digression for the purposes of insertion of background comment. Flaschner (1987: 145) suggested that such digressions from a story's main event-line normally elaborate on it by encoding descriptions of setting, characters and/or motives; they sometimes qualify for a paragraph, in other words they can stand as a complete and autonomous textual unit. Pop-type repetition acts as a common means of returning to the event line after such a digression and thus of reinstantiating the theme initiated by the utterance that is repeated; in this way, it is reminiscent of Longacre's "*recapitulatory back reference*" (1989: 423): e.g.

(80) a. ... *sto telos tin teleftea mera
mu lene/ iha kanonisi egho/ iha
kathisterisi to taxidhi pu tha fevgha*

... **at the end at the last time they tell
me/ I had arranged everything/ I had
delayed my journey up there/ because**

*pano/ ghiati ipologhiza oti tha anevi o
babas me ti mama/ tha pame me to
aftokinito aneta/*

I thought that dad and mum will come
as well/ we'll all go comfortably by
car/

*opote mu lene tin teleftea mera/ na
rthume/ xeris to skeftomaste tora...*

so they tell me at the last day/ should
we come/ you know we're not really
sure...

Sakis B., FSA

b. *...me to pu htipai to tilefono
petaghome pano/ imuna eghe mono sto
saloni/ i alli kimudan apo ki/ opote
imuna i proti pu tha boruse na to
sikosi/*

... when the telephone rings **I jump
up/** I was the only one in the living-
room/ the rest were sleeping in the
other room/ so I was the first to pick it
up/

e petaghome pano/ to sikono...

so I jump up/ I pick it up...

Alexandra B., FSA

The type of repetition which is situated after the interference of elaborating material at the final line of a stanza has a somewhat different function from that of stanza-initial repetition. It marks the closure of the topic initiated by the repeated phrase rather than its reinstantiation:

(81) *perasame ke dhe mas idhe katholu/ emis ton idhame sti thalassa
tora/ apo pano aftos apo kato emis/ kapu stin Paro Naxo/ ke dhe mas
idhe aftos/*

we flew past him and **he didn't see us at all/** we saw him flying over
the sea now/ he (flying) higher we (flying) lower/ somewhere in Paros
or Naxos/ **and he (emphatic) didn't see us/**

Ghiannis G., FSA

In this example, the opening and closing of the stanza with the same phrase is a discourse-organisational means of intensifying the point restated (*he didn't see us*), reminiscent of Schifffrin's category of non-immediate paraphrase for reasons of intensification (1982: 3). Specifically, the point stressed by the repeated phrase cues

the story's overarching discourse theme which is the incapability of a senior pilot. "He didn't see us" suggests that it is inconceivable for a senior pilot not to have flown as low as the two junior pilots in which case he would have seen them.

6.2.2 The Key-Phrase Reiteration

Key-phrase reiteration involves the repetition or less frequently paraphrase of a line at strategic positions of the text. The category exhibits two contexts of occurrence. It can be systematic and pervasive, tying all narrative parts together or at least the whole of CA up to the story's resolution (example 82a below). Alternatively, it presents a more confined and less overwhelming use through its concentration at the climactic and post-climactic part (examples 82b and 82c below). In both cases, the line repeated is strategically positioned in successive or non-successive stanzas, that is, it is placed either at the initial or at the final boundary of a stanza. The following examples illustrate each use; due to practical limitations, the text that surrounds the key-phrase redundancy is not provided:

(82) a. **Orientation:** ... *ki imaste oli poli aghapimeni...*/... *mename xeris poli aghapimeni oli...*/ **Pre-climax:** ...*tus ihame aghapisi emis...*/ ... *ke tin ihame aghapisi arketa...*/ **Climax:** ... *ghiati tin ihame aghapisi toso poli...*/ **Post-Climax:**... *pu tin aghapusame...*

Orientation: ... and we all loved each other very much.../ we all loved each other very much you know.../ **Pre-climax:** ... we had loved them.../ ... and we had loved her very much.../ **Climax:**... because we had loved her so much.../ **Post-climax:**... whom we loved...

Ghiannis B., FSC

In this example, the key-emotion or theme of the story is the love and affection that the narrator felt as a child towards a neighbouring family and in particular towards the "mother" who died. This is encapsulated in the repeated line above which ends almost every second stanza and more importantly occurs in every single narrative part, thus successfully cueing the relation of the part to the whole.

b. From a story about the narrator's scary experience of being lost in the mountains:

... ki egcho imuna enas anthropos o opios esthanthika ekini tin ora tromera apomonomeni ke tromera moni mu.../... esthanthika ekini tin ora oti imun telios apomonomeni... esthanthika egatalimeni/... esthanthika telios egatalimeni apo tus pades... /sinidhitopiisa tin egatalipsi mu/ ... sinesthimata egatalipsis...

... and I was a person that I felt at that moment awfully isolated and awfully alone/... I felt at that moment that I was completely isolated.../... I felt abandoned.../ I felt completely abandoned by everybody.../ ... I realised that I was abandoned.../ ... (I had) feelings of isolation...

The above 7 repetitions/paraphrases are again stanza-final tying together and forming the main motif of the nine stanzas of the fairly long post-climactic (evaluation) section of the story. The same key-phrase reiteration recurs within the resolution section to set up a contrast with the evaluation section and thus underscore the ending of the climactic part:

... ki arhisa na htizo tin idhea oti telika dhen ime toso egatalimeni oso esthanthika...

... and I started building the idea that I'm not as abandoned as I felt after all...

Evi B., BSA

c. (Onset of the story's second peak)

... alla to ena apo ta pedhia pu evghalan itan anesthito/ dhen to evlepes na ehi tis esthis tu/ ihe hasi to hroma tu edelos/ itan katakitrino/ ... alla to pedhi dhe sinerhotan/ itan anesthito/ to hroma tu sa nekro/

... ke to pedhi itan anesthito/ to hroma tu san pethamenof

... but one of the guys that brought out (to the shore) was unconscious/ he had lost his senses/ he had completely lost his colour/ he was very pale (notice the immediate paraphrase)/

... but the kid didn't come round/ he was unconscious/ his colour was very pale like he was dead .../

... ke to pedhi itan anesthito/ oli afti tin
ora fenotan sa nekro...

... and the kid was unconscious/ all that
time he was like he was dead.../

Vivi P., BSC
(same story as 82b)

The above interesting case of the repetition of an immediate paraphrase occurs three times in the five climactic stanzas of the story.

References to mental states, emotive reactions and/or physical occurrences as results of the high point action encoded by the key-phrase reiteration in examples 81b and 81c above are typical of the more confined use of the phenomenon within the climactic part. By contrast, its less "local" use normally encodes background comments. In these cases, the repetition of a seemingly non-significant comment introduced as part of the orientation section gradually turns the comment into an axis of organisation around which the plotting of the story revolves. Thus, the addressee only gradually realises that what may be interpreted at the beginning as a background comment or descriptive detail which does not bear any relevance to the story-line other than setting its scene, serves the signalling of how each textual segment is to be understood with reference to the story's holistic build-up.

For instance, the repetition of the orientation phrase "*my father was away that day*" in the example below, proves to be the axis around which the narrator's insecurity and agony when having to handle her mother's accident alone revolves:

(83) a. **Orientation:**... o pateras mu elipe ekini ti mera.../ **Climax:**... ekini ti mera o pateras mu elipe... / **Evaluation:** ... ki o pateras mu ihe pai kapu ghia dhulia ekini ti mera.../ ... ki etihe na lipi ki o pateras mu ekini ti mera...

Orientation: ... my father was away that day.../ **Climax:** ... my father was away that day.../ **Evaluation:** ... and my father was working somewhere that day.../ ... and my father was away that day... (emphatic reference to "my father")...

Aggeliki K., BSC

Comparably, in the following example the information that a group of boys swimming in the sea were near some cliffs which is at the beginning seemingly stage-setting, is eventually projected as the main cause for the boys' adventure in the sea and the death of one of them which is the most tellable event of the story:

b. **Orientation:** ... *ke vriskodan koda se kati vrahus...* / **Pre-climax:** ... *ke opos su ipa vriskodusan idhi koda stus vrahus...* / ... *ke to ashimo itan oti ta kimata tus pighenan koda stus vrahus...* / ... *ke to ashimo itan oti vriskodusan poli koda stus vrahus* / **Climax:** ... *to ena kima to ena pedhi to ihe feri poli koda stus vrahus* / ... *to ena pedhi to kima to ihe htipisi pano stus vrahus...* / **Resolution:** ... *ke dhen ihe pnighi/ apla ena meghalo kima to erixe pano stus vrahus/ htipise sto kefali/ ke ipekipse/...*

Orientation: ... and they were near some cliffs... / **Pre-climax:** ... and as I told you they were near the cliffs... / and the bad thing is that the waves pushed them towards the cliff... / ... and the bad thing is that they were very near the cliffs... / **Climax:** ... and a wave pushed one of the boys very near the cliffs... / ... a wave had hit the boy on the cliffs... / **Resolution:** ... and (the boy) had not drowned/ a big wave pushed him to the cliffs/ he hit on the head/ and died...

Vivi P., BSC

From the above, it is evident that key-phrase reiteration is a device which can both contribute to a story's macroorganisation and show its point. In its extended use, it acts as a major framing device which, reminiscent of a macroconnector, signposts the relations between different narrative parts and cues the story's overarching discourse theme. At the same time, it implicitly foregrounds the story's point by means of the recurrent sense and sound pattern that it establishes.

In its confined use at the climactic part where it normally co-occurs with lines that encode emotive reactions/results the evaluative function takes over: the device clearly works as an involvement strategy which aims at intensifying the point of the climactic events.

6.2.3 Reiteration Devices and Symmetrical Inter-Stanza Patterning

The last mode of reiteration devices is what will be referred to here as the *symmetrical inter-stanza patterning* or mirroring. This involves the symmetrical building up of successive or non-successive stanzas (frequently pre-climactic stanzas) through reiteration devices so that they bear thematic and structural similarity to each other or to use Ong's (1982) and Havelock's (1982) terms *echo* each other. Such a patterning has been reported as a characteristic rhythmic and poetic patterning that organises experience into symmetrical, regular relationships in Black American children's narratives, that is, in narrative styles which are close to orality (Gee 1989a: 65). The orality-associated nature of inter-stanza symmetrical patterning is evident in the data as well: the device is almost totally eliminated in written stories (see §6.2.4). To illustrate its use, following is an extract from a particularly long story about the narrator's recent illness. The extract is from the narrative part between the climax (narrator's sudden stroke) and its resolution (the narrator's getting to the hospital):

(84) *lipon mu lene afti/ katse kato mu
lene/ na se tripsume eki/ ti epathes
apotoma/ tus leo tha figho/*

*mu lei katse mu lei esi/ etsi pu ise mu
lei/ min pesis pio kato mu lei/*

*tora pu maste edho mu lei/ na
prosferume oti borume mu lei/ ohi tus
leo/ dhen eho tipota/ kala ime tus leo/*

*en to metaxi irthi ki i ghiaghia/ tis leo
etsi ki etsi/ afto epatha tis leo/ dhen
eho tipota tis leo/ tora tha vgho mia
volta exo tis leo/*

*ghiati mu lei tora arrostitises esi ke tha
vghis exo/ etsi pu ise mu lei/ tis leo*

... so they tell me/ **sit down they tell
me/** so that we can offer you a
massage/ **what's happened to you** all
of a sudden/ I tell them **I'm leaving/**

**he tells me sit down/ in your
condition** he tells me/ you may
collapse a bit further down he tells me/

since we are here now he tells me/ we
can do anything for you/ no I tell
them/ **there's nothing wrong with me/**
I'm fine I tell them/...

**....meanwhile grandma came in/ I tell
her so and so/ this is what happened
to me I tell her/ I'm fine I tell her/**
**now I'm going out for a walk I tell
her/**

**she tells me what are you going out
now that you are ill/ in your**

dhen patheno tipota/ kala ime tis leo/...

condition she tells me/ I tell her there's nothing wrong with me/ I'm fine I tell her/...

erhete apexo ap to kafenio enas/ o dhaskalos o Ghiannis/ re mu lei pos to pathes mu lei/ etsi ki etsi mu lei/ etsi ki etsi to patha tu leo/

... some guy **walks into** the coffee place/ Ghiannis the teacher/ well he tells me **what's happened to you/** so and so he tells me/ **so and so has happened to me I tell him/**

dhiighithika eki/ alla tus leo dhen eho tipota tu leo/ kala ime tora/

I told the story there/ but I tell them **there's nothing wrong with me I tell them/ I'm fine now/**

tora tus leo fevghe pao ghia to spiti/ e lei min pathis tipota/...

I tell them **now I'm leaving/ I'm going home/** he tells **what if something happens to you in your condition...**

ekatsa ligho/ irthe apexo o Panaghiotis/ o Panaghiotis to mathe/ tis Labrinis/ to mathe to episodhio afto/

... I sat there for a while/ Panaghiotis **came in/** Panaghiotis heard about it/ Panaghiotis the son of Labrini/ he heard about this incident/

lipon erhete mesa/ ti epathes papu lei/ tu leo etsi ki etsi epatha/ ime kala omos tora/ vgheno ki exo/

(notice the pop-type repetition) **so he comes in/ what's happened to you "grandpa"** (for addressing older people) he tells me/ I tell him **so and so happened to me/ but I'm fine now/ I go out as well/**

siko mu lei siko mu lei na se pao pano/ ti kala ise/ min pathis tipota...

don't sit down let's go to the doctor he tells me/ let's get to a doctor/ **what if something happens to you in your condition...**

Panaghos B., FSA

As can be seen above, the symmetrically built successive and non-successive stanzas are easily perceived as part of a strictly interwoven patterning of similarities. In fact they cover four symmetrically patterned interactions between the narrator and people who are concerned about his illness; as typical of tripartite schemes the first three fail to change the narrator's mind (ie he keeps on insisting that there is nothing wrong

with him) while the fourth one eventually leads to the story's resolution (the narrator decides on taking his illness seriously and is taken by Panaghiotis to the hospital).

As can be inferred from the above realisation of inter-stanza symmetrical patterning in a tripartite scheme, the device is favoured in multiple-plan application stories which, as already discussed (§3.2.5), normally exhibit a tripartite make-up (e.g. three attempts before the climax or the resolution, application of three plans, three stanzas for the construction of each of the three attempts etc). In these cases the part repeated or paraphrased also serves the function of foregrounding what is different (ie not repeated/paraphrased). From this point of view the patterning is reminiscent of Grimes's technique of *overlay* (1983: 513): this is a particular type of linkage that moves the narrative time forward by drawing attention to the novel elements, while nearly repeating relatively long stretches in such a way that certain elements in one stretch recur in the other. This technique was also found in operation in the *laissez similaires* of the medieval epic poetry (Fleischman 1989: 70-89).

Symmetrical patterning in the data employs the technique of juxtaposition and contrast to a great extent. In most cases this achieves the effect of intensifying and foregrounding the climax or resolution of a theme/action/event by means of contrasting it to the preceding complicating action, or in other words, of breaking the matching pattern established in the prior textual segments, which has been reported as a common technique in jokes (Hoey 1987: 83). In this respect, inter-stanza symmetrical patterning creates a highly scaffolded orchestration of unfolding with evaluating: it not only takes over the story's macroorganisation but also implicitly underscores its point by foregrounding its climactic part.

To illustrate the above, following are an extract covering the CA of a short story and a short story. The extract exemplifies the symmetrical tripartite patterning through symmetrical reiteration patterning and the short story exhibits a contrastive symmetry between its turning point incident and its climactic incident:

(85) ... *akume stamatai ena taxi exo/
htipai tin porta/ lei parte tin obrella tu
kiriu Iliu/*

we hear **a taxi stopping** outside the house/ **he knocks** at the door/ **he says** here is Mr Ilias's umbrella/

*pia emis paghosame/ leme kati epathe
o anthropos/ ohi lei aftos/ tha rthi
arghotera peskesi aftos/*

well we froze/ we say something has happened to him/ **he tells us no/ he'll just come a bit later/**

*stamatai allo taxi/ fevgghi ekinos eki/
htipai/ lei parte to kapello tu kiriu
Iliu/*

another taxi stops/ the other one goes/ **he knocks/ he tells** here's Mr Ilias's hat/

*kokkalosame eki pali ki i dhio/
kitazame/ lei ki aftos min anisihite/
tha rthi/*

we froze again/ we were looking at him/ **he says/ don't worry/ he'll come/**

*dhen pernane dhio lepta/ plakoni ena
taxi apexo/ kuvalaghe ton patera su
afto/ leme kala ti simenun ola afta/*

two minutes later a taxi comes outside the house/ that one took your father home/ **we say well what's happened/**

*ti ihe ghini tora/ o pateras su ihe
kerdhisi kapio stihima...*

(flashback: beginning of resolution)
"what had happened now"/ your dad had won a bet/...

Marianna H., FSC

As can be seen in the example above the three segments of the "taxi arrivals" are symmetrically built up forming a tripartite scheme in which the third stanza acts as its climax by means of the contrast to the other two: the third taxi carries the story's character rather than his personal objects.

The point of the following short story may not very obvious to non-Greeks since it is based on the culturally defined conventions of hospitality, according to which offering drinks and sweets to guests and in particular to non-adult guests is implicitly assumed and automatic; therefore, putting the guest in the position of explicitly acknowledging his desire to be served is considered to be insincere if not rude:

(86) ... *thimame mia fora pu hame pai sti Sehioti/ tote pu he htipisi to podhi tis i Maria/ ke mas lei as pume/ pedhia ghia sas/ thelete na fate na piite tipota/ kitazomaste emis leme ohi dhe thelume/*

e meta erhomaste/ ke sto dhromo sizitagame/ pedhia ghia sas/ thelete na fate na piite tipota/ ma ine dhinato na tis leghame thelume na fame/ adhinato/

ki erhomaste edho/ ke lete esis/ Vasilaki ghia su/ thelis tipota na fas na piis kana ghlikaki/

ke lei o Takis/ re mana an ine na feris ghliko fere/ ti to rotas ton anthropo/

(he he)

I remember once when **we went to Sehioti's house/** it was when Maria had hurt her leg/ and so she tells us (ie Maria's mother)/ (imitating her posh accent) **hello guys/ would you like anything to eat or drink/** we look at each other and **say no thanks/**

so after that **we were coming back/** and we were talking on the way back/ (imitating the voice) **hello guys/ would you like anything to eat or drink/** (talking to each other) but is it possible to **tell her we want to eat/ impossible/**

and **we come here/** and you say (the narrator turns to his friend's mother who is one of the audience)/ (imitating the voice) **hello Vassilakis (little Vassilis)/ do you want anything to eat to drink any sweets/**

and Takis says/ come on mother **if you want to bring sweets just go ahead/** why are you asking the guy/

(he he)

Vassilis G., FSA

As can be seen, the story's structuring is reminiscent of the narrative organisation of jokes. It fully exploits reiteration devices for setting up a symmetrical pattern between the two segments in "Mrs Sehioti's house" and in "Taki's house" and ends with the character's pattern-breaking punchline. The patterning succeeds in establishing a set of implicit connections so that the story, as is typical of short stories in FSA, can dispense with a separate evaluation or resolution section.

In view of the above discussion it can be argued that inter-stanza symmetrical patterning constitutes the dual function reiteration device *par excellence*. It forms a major axis of narrative organisation that ties different segments together cueing their

relevance to the global discourse theme. At the same time, its pervasive patterns of similarity among textual segments present the evaluative effect of establishing a compelling rhythm which sweeps the listeners along and involves them into the taleworld. Additionally, the conglomeration of the device's unfolding and evaluative functioning presents the unique feature -compared to the other modes of reiteration devices (see §6.2.1 and §6.2.2)- of being fortified by the HP and CD pattern: specifically, all instances of inter-stanza symmetrical patterning occur in stories which employ the HP and CD as vehicles for their global segmentation and dramatisation. More importantly, they positively correlate with the HP and CD instances both in the basic ($r=.4867$, $df=19$, $p<.05$) and in the free corpus ($r=.3301$, $df=58$, $p<.01$). Within the frame of HP and CD patterns of use, inter-stanza symmetrical patterning becomes an integral part of the global performed MG mode of narration, that is, the "level of saturation". This accounts for the device's popularity in the FSA (for details see §6.6.3).

6.2.4 Reiteration Patterns and Stories for Children

While the binding function of reiteration devices does not differentiate between SA and SC, their unfolding and evaluative uses prove to be particularly sensitive to audience considerations. As table 18 below shows, BSC present a significantly reduced use of all modes of reiteration patterns discussed above, namely pop-type repetition ($t=-3.70$, $df=19$, $p<.01$), key-phrase reiteration (extended) ($t=-3.78$, $df=19$, $p<.01$) and inter-stanza symmetrical patterning ($t= 2.14$, $df=19$, $p<.05$). The same applies to the SC of the free corpus: compared to FSA, FSC make less use of pop-type repetition ($t=-3.28$, $df=58$, $p<.01$), extended key-phrase reiteration ($t=-2.29$, $df=58$, $p<.05$) and inter-stanza symmetrical patterning ($t=-2.68$, $df=58$, $p<.01$). By contrast, both BSC and FSC exhibit an increased predilection for the confined use of key-phrase reiteration.

The above findings are congruent with the whole puzzle of unfolding relations in SA vs SC gradually uncovered so far: specifically, SC have proven to make less use of the macrosegmentational power of binding devices by contrast to SA which fully operate them at global level through systematically amalgamating their local and

global uses. Thus, in this case too, while at binding level SC use reiteration as equal as SA, at unfolding level, they rely significantly less on them. A significant element of this difference is that the SC avoid in particular the complex and pervasive uses of reiteration devices that present an intricate overlapping of the evaluative and unfolding function. Thus, while they favour the climactic key-phrase reiteration, which is an evaluative device covering only the story's peak part, they avoid both its extended counterpart and the compelling and forceful mode of symmetrical patterning. The avoidance by SC of dual function devices and of their "saturation-level" patterning will emerge more clearly in the discussion of HP and CD.

A last point which needs to be made to further elucidate the differences between SA and SC regarding reiteration devices is the affinity that SC exhibit once again with the written-based model of narration. In this case too they lie close to the unfolding and evaluative choices of written stories. Specifically, as Table 18 below shows, WSA significantly reduce the symmetrical patterning compared to BSA, eliminate the pop-type repetition and only employ the mode of key-phrase reiteration mainly in its confined use within the climactic part. Thus, the common denominator between SC and written stories is the systematic avoidance of the orchestrated unfolding and evaluative uses of reiteration devices.

There is also another mode of reiteration that links SC with written stories which is by contrast very restricted in SA. This is the strategy of tying a story's abstract with its coda through the use of reiteration. The device is strongly associated with the essayist tradition and its literacy-based model of narration; one of the aesthetic principles put forward as conducive to efficient creative writing in MG schools is what is referred to as the technique of "cycle". This involves moving back to the initial point of departure for the storytelling to remind the addressee of its relevance or to contrast the post-event state to the previous one. In this latter case the mode of reiteration preferred is obviously that of contrast:

(87) *Abstract: otan imuna mikros sinithiza na zitao ta klidhia tu*

aftokinitu apo ton patera mu/... Coda: Peritto na po oti apo kini ti mera pote pia dhen xanazitisa ta klidhia tu aftokinitu apo ton patera mu./

Abstract: when I was a child I used to ask for the keys of my dad's car/... Coda: Needless to say that ever since that day I have never asked for the keys of my dad's car again./

Nikos T., WSC

Cycle reiteration is common in SC with an explicit moral point: in these cases the reiteration makes the point salient by repeating it at the end, that is, by initiating and finishing the story with an explicit mention of its motivation and purpose:

(88) Abstract: Ta skilakia dhen prepi na ta pirazis pote/ ghiati... Coda: apo tote pote dhen xanapiraxa skilakia/ ghiati.../ To idhio lipon na kanis ki esi/

Abstract: You should never tease little dogs/ because.../ Coda: so I have never teased little dogs again/ because.../ So you should do the same thing/

Adonis M., WSC

By contrast, in the very few cases of oral SA in which the abstract-coda cycle is employed, it normally involves the repetition of the most reportable event itself, which is what motivates the storytelling, rather than its implications and consequences for the narrator's life: e.g.

(89) Abstract: enas sidaghmatarhis eklapse eklapse/... Coda: ke su leo eklapse/ eklapse/ pragmatika eklapse/ toso dhakri edho ap ta ghialia tu/ siginithike poli/

Abstract: a brigadier cried cried/... Coda: and I'm telling you he cried/ he cried/ he really cried/ so many tears dripping from his glasses/ he was very moved/

Ilias G., FSC

The findings discussed in this section are illustrated in table 18 below.

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC	WSA	WSC
Pop-Type Repetition	21.4	6.3	29.6	8.6	0	0
Key-Phrase (extended)	39.4	20.9	27.6	17.4	24	31
Key-Phrase (confined)	12.9	43.6	9.1	49.5	55.9	50
Inter-stanza Symmetry	20	12.5	31.1	10.9	5	4.7
Cycle Reiteration	6.3	16.7	2.7	13.6	15.1	14.3

Table 18: Mean Percentages of Modes of Reiteration Patterns

6.3 Interim Summary

The discussion of the first dual function device brought to the fore a strategy of avoidance of its compelling and forceful unfolding and evaluative uses in SC. This strategy will be consolidated in the study of the HP and the CD. The results of the analysis of reiteration devices systematically pattern with the findings about markers and participant reference. Specifically, SC once again were found to fail to fully amalgamate local or binding uses of devices with global narrative constraints. Thus, as with the rest of the unfolding devices, they proved to make significantly less use of the macroorganisational power of reiteration devices compared to SA which favour their complex dual functionality uses for the construction of the tapestry of their discourse coherence. A mode of reiteration which will be fully comprehended after the HP and CD are discussed is that of inter-stanza symmetrical patterning. This is due to the fact that the HP and CD patterns of co-operation form the frame within which the patterning is established. As will be shown (§6.6.3), all three devices evolve to a maximum point of orchestration of their unfolding and evaluative functions, namely the level of saturation.

6.4 Historical Present and Constructed Dialogue: The State of the Art and the Idea of Dual Functionality

To begin the discussion of HP and CD with a terminological clarification, "Historical Present" is the term traditionally employed for the use of the present tense to refer to past events in a narrative context so that the events are understood as having a reference time which is prior to the time of speaking. "Constructed Dialogue" on the other hand is used here as an umbrella term for instances of dialogue, direct speech and thought animation in a narrative. Though ontologically distinct, the categories of speech and thought are commonly examined together due to their similarity in textual representation and function. As regards the term "Constructed Dialogue", its choice clearly caters for and draws attention to the fact that the inclusion of characters' speech (and thoughts) in narration does not imply their factuality, ie that they have actually been uttered. In particular, the term is adopted from Tannen (1988: 95) who, following the Bakhtinian (1981) premises of dialogism and re-contextualisation, suggested that speech rendering inevitably involves interference with the original on the part of the narrator.

The commonest tendency in the literature regarding the two devices is to treat them as devices of dramatisation and performance. As shown in §5.1.6, this view is readily compatible with the argument that HP and CD function as proximal evaluative devices in the data. The notion of dramatisation in the case of HP can be traced back to its traditional accounts (e.g. Jespersen 1927, Joos 1964, Palmer 1965, cited in Schifffrin 1981: 49); there, HP was treated as a dramatic device which bases its effect on removing the events out of their past frame into the time of speaking, so that the audience feel as if they were present at the time of the experience. This traditional "*past more vivid interpretation*" of the HP was seriously challenged by Wolfson (1979, 1982), who, working with oral American English narratives, suggested that it is not the use of HP *per se* which is significant in narration but the switch from the Past to the HP and vice versa. Her main arguments against the traditional "*dramatisation*" hypothesis can be summed up as follows: a. The hypothesis falsely predicts that all dramatic moments of a story should be in the HP. If its main rationale

held, then there should be a strict isomorphism between the HP and the dramatic (salient) events of a story, which is very often not the case. b. The hypothesis presupposes the "presentness" of the HP, that is, it takes the present time as the reference time of the HP. However, the present tense is commonly treated (e.g. Lyons 1977) as timeless or neutral with respect to time reference. Wolfson endorsing the idea of the "timelessness" of the HP claimed that though it is associated with animated or dramatised (ie performed) narratives, it is not a dramatic device in itself; instead, it is the alternation between past tense and HP which is important and functional. In her view, the main function of this switch is not that of dramatisation but that of event-separation ("*event-separating*" function), namely of bringing organisation to a story by segmenting it and grouping the otherwise indistinct or inchoate series of its acts into units called events. These were defined as actions which a. occur in different scenes, b. occur after "all of a sudden", c. are associated with different actors, and/or d. are conditions described (sometimes) by "when clauses" and coordinate clauses. This definition has frequently been the object of scrutiny in particular with regard to cases b. and c. (e.g. Schiffrin 1981, Ess-Dykema 1984).

To sum up Wolfson's contribution, it is legitimate to suggest that her work is the first to have drawn attention to the discourse-structuring and organisational function of HP. Though not immediately compatible with our unfolding function both definitionally and in terms of scope and coverage, Wolfson's "event" nevertheless constitutes an attempt to bring narrative organisation into play when examining the functioning of HP in narration. Wolfson's views served as the point of departure for a controversy in the literature in which the "event-separating" function of the HP was challenged by proponents of the evaluative function (e.g. Centineo 1991, Ess-Dykema 1984, Schiffrin 1981, Silva-Corvalan 1983) who essentially upheld the traditional "dramatisation" view by treating the HP as a device for setting off only the most climactic events of a story in order to enhance their tellability. This controversy is incompatible with the idea of the dual function of the device proposed here (also see Georgakopoulou 1992b: 192-211); instead, it treats the "event-separating" and "evaluative" function as mutually exclusive.

By contrast, the two latest contributions to the issue from Fleischman (1990) and Fludernik (1991) represent attempts to integrate the device's discourse functions. Specifically, Fleischman argued that the HP (Narrative Present in her terms) of medieval French narratives and natural narratives is both a textual device of foregrounding as its association with participant tracking suggests (ie shifts to HP correlate with shifts in participant focus) and a device of expressivity. The two functions were proposed to travel together in the case of shifts to HP that are associated with participant-based spans: the HP both foregrounds the participant in focus and evaluates the narrator's attitude towards the participant. Though the association of HP with participant tracking is a much narrower organisational relation than its association with a story's unfolding proposed here about MG, Fleischman's approach constitutes a step towards allowing for a "textual" function along with the evaluative function of HP. In a similar vein, Fludernik, using a model of episodic analysis, reported that switches to HP occur in the incipit clauses of the episodes (turns, onset clauses) to highlight their tellable qualities, namely the story's "*experientially important and significant*" (1991: 371). However vague the definition of tellability is in this approach and however unclear its relation to Labov's evaluation remains, the model also represents an attempt to allow for two functions in the case of the HP; this is done by aligning the notion of narrative turns (ie discourse-organisational function) to that of tellability (ie expressive-level function).

While as the above suggest, emphasis on the evaluative function of the HP has been either complemented or undermined by its textual (discourse-organisational) function, in the case of CD it has monopolised the orientation of the relevant literature. Specifically, animating characters' speech and thoughts in storytelling in the form of CD has been widely acknowledged as an evaluative device (e.g. Dubois 1989, Maranhao 1984, Mayes 1990, Peterson & McCabe 1983, Polanyi 1985, Wolf & Hicks 1989, Watson-Gegeo & Boggs 1977) or an exponent of dramatisation (e.g. Longacre 1980, Wierzbicka 1974, Wolfson 1979) which signals a "*breakthrough into performance*" (Hymes 1981). As a theatrical or "*performance*" feature (Wolfson 1979), CD was found (Tannen 1989: 128) to typify the storytelling of cultures close to orality

and of ethnic styles that come across as vivid (e.g. Greek, East-European Jews, American Blacks). Closely related to the characterisation of CD as dramatisation and immediacy feature is that of an involvement strategy (Chafe 1982, Tannen 1989) which reflects the speaker's engagement in what is said and promotes the hearer's engagement too. Tannen claimed (idem: 133) that the involving nature of CD is intertwined with helping the participants relive the events through presenting the action as if it were enacted in telling time. Thus, teller and listeners are involved in a community of rapport through collaborating in the construction of the taleworld.

All the above characterisations of CD can be easily aligned with the notion of internal evaluation as defined here: showing rather than telling the point of the story by means of dramatisation and performance which abolishes the distance between the storyworld and the taleworld is a major criterial feature of internal evaluation. This view is somewhat different from the Labovian treatment (1972) of comments reported as made by the teller-as-participant (to himself or to another participant) or by another participant at the time of the events; these were argued to be forms of embedded evaluation mostly on the basis of their content. The content of direct quotes can admittedly serve the evaluative function of a story in that it portrays characters and affords the story multiple voices (other than the narrator's) that state its point¹. Nevertheless, as the above discussion attempted to show, more salient aspects that define the evaluative character of CD lie in its use as an iconic and mimetic feature which heightens the dramatic nature of a story and contributes to its immediacy.

As already suggested, the unfolding function of CD has been little emphasised in the literature compared to its evaluating function. A view which points to the device's crucial relation to narrative organisation is Young's approach to direct speech as a narrative framing device which "*frames enclaves as a different order of events from the events around them and marks one boundary of the events so framed*" (1984: 249). Though placed in a phenomenological framework of narrative, the above essentially

¹ In the data at hand, instances of embedded evaluation encoded within CD were captured when coding the stories' reported text for its evaluative devices (see §5.2 and §5.3).

puts forward the delineating (demarcatory) quality of CD as its major function in narration. Similarly, Erhlich (1990: 14) claimed that represented speech and thought (ie CD) is a cohesive device of referential linking and a means by which the continuation of an episode is signalled. Erhlich's focus was on isolating the devices which establish a point of view in literary discourse, which is narrowly defined as "the speaker's voice" ("who speaks"); however, her account of instances of represented speech and thought indirectly recognised their role in narrative organisation. In a more explicit vein, Yule & Mathis (1992: 211) argued that HP reporting structures, especially when combined with the reporting verbs "be like, be, go" function as primary markers of what is salient in the speaker's account and hence establish her topic; thus, they are a foregrounding device for setting off front-stage events. This view again points out the importance of CD in a story's macro-organisation.

To sum up, the above review suggests that the functions of evaluation and unfolding put forward here as the two functions of HP and CD in MG storytelling can be argued to underlie the relevant literature more or less explicitly and as compatible or mutually exclusive choices. In view of the literature, the present treatment of the devices takes a step forward in that it explicitly allows them the same dual function (evaluation-unfolding) thus underscoring their affinity, and in that it clearly defines their evaluating function in terms of the effect of proximity.

6.5 Binding Analyses

The first measures applied to the HP and CD pertained to their binding-level function, that is, to their occurrence along the horizontal or referential axis of the stories. Thus, they did not take into account their patterns of use or strategic positioning across the texts' thematic constituents and narrative parts. These binding analyses prepared the ground for the enquiry into the devices' unfolding and evaluative uses. The primary coding of the HP and CD involved isolating the stories which presented at least one instance of shift to one or both devices. The measure suggested that while both devices are extensively used in SA and in particular in the free corpus, they are systematically avoided in SC. There is not a single instance of a piece of storytelling

among adults recorded in relaxed settings which does not employ HP and CD. As regards the basic corpus 80% and 85% of the BSA exhibit at least one instance of shift to HP and CD respectively (see table 19 below). This reduction seems to suggest an experimental effect: in particular it shows that fully performed and involving narratives are inevitably less likely to emerge in more controlled contexts of narrative elicitation (the case of the basic corpus) compared to the spontaneous and naturalistic settings of everyday non-prompted storytelling (the case of the free corpus).

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC	WSA	WSC
HP	16 (80%)	3 (15%)	110 (100%)	8 (13.3%)	16 (22.9%)	14 (17.1%)
CD	17 (85%)	4 (20%)	110 (100%)	12 (20%)	15 (21.4%)	8 (11.4%)

Table 19: Total Numbers and Mean Percentages of Stories with Shift(s) to the HP and CD

By contrast to the situation in SA, the HP and the CD occur in only 15% and 20% of the BSC respectively and in 13.3% and 20% of the FSC (see table 19 above). This substantial difference in the use of the devices between SA and SC in addition to revealing an overwhelming instance of "recipient-design" brings to the fore their co-occurrence. Specifically, as the figures above show, use of one device in a story almost without exception implies use of the other too. Furthermore, a Pearson product-moment correlation test showed that the number of shifts to one of the devices in each story positively correlates with the number of the shifts to the other both in the basic corpus ($r=.5439$, $df=17$, $p<.05$) and in the free corpus ($r=.8743$, $df=28$, $p<.001$). This tendency of the two devices to cluster together will be specified in the discussion of their patterns of use (§6.6).

A final proof for their co-occurrence and affinity emerging purely from the coding of their instances, that is, prior to any analyses of their patterns of use and function, involves the use of the HP for the quotative verbs: specifically 96% and 97.1% of the quotative verbs in the BSA and FSA respectively are in the HP. The co-occurrence of the HP with the quotative verbs has been reported in the literature as a device for enhancing the sense of proximity and immediacy which the shift to direct speech creates by

anticipating the shift that is about to take place from the narrative mode, associated with the Past tense, to the speech mode, associated with the Present

Fleischman 1990: 83

However, the percentages reported are much lower than the ones in the data: in Ess-Dykema's and Wolfson's data only 17% and 35% verbs of saying respectively were in the HP; Schiffrin's data manifested a higher percentage (63%), but still these numbers clearly fall short of the high figure in the SA. The exceptions are Past Progressive or "na+past progressive" forms of the quotative verbs rather than Aorist forms. This co-occurrence is not surprising since as discussed in §5.1.6 both the past progressive and na+past progressive constructions in these cases act as proximal evaluatives which enhance the evaluative functioning of the quote. In addition to the overwhelming co-occurrence with the HP, there is another striking regularity involving the quotative verb in the data. This is the predominance of the verb "*leo*" (used for both say and tell in MG) as a quotative verb for instances of CD (97% and 97.5% of the quotative verbs in FSA and BSA respectively). The finding corresponds with Tannen's report (1986: 311-32) that in her MG narratives only 6% of the quotative verbs were other than "*leo*".

"Leo" owes its frequency partly to the fact that it can be used instead of the verb "*skeftome*" (think): in particular, almost all of the cases of 1st person direct thought are in the form of "*leo*" utterances. Tannen suggested that these are thoughts projected

by the narrator as direct quotations to herself. A simpler explanation is to be found in the semantics of the verb "leo": the verb has two meanings, say and think, and the disambiguation is a matter of context; or, it is aided by the clitic "su" which when preceding the verb in the case of the third person singular or plural (e.g. *su lei*: (lit) he says "to you", *su lene*: they say "to you") suggests that the meaning of "leo" is "think". e.g.

(90) *mazevode tora oli sto horio/ su lene kati kako prepi na ghine stu Karutzu to spiti...*

now everybody in the village gets together/ they "**think to themselves**" something bad must have happened in Karutzu's house...

Sofia I., FSA

The frequency of "leo" is reduced in SC (86%) in favour of quotative verbs which convey the narrator's interpretation of the nature of the reported event and thus serve as signposts as to how the following reported clause has to be interpreted by the listener. However, the overwhelming frequency of "leo" and its co-occurrence with the HP is undoubted and proves to constitute a particularly powerful choice in MG narration.

6.5.1 Historical Present Verbs

The next coding steps involved more specific counts regarding instances of HP and CD. To begin with the HP, prior to the qualitative and quantitative analysis of its patterns of use, two measures were employed for illuminating the nature of the device in the data: the classification of the *Aktionsart* of the HP verbs and the percentages of the HP verbs with regard to the total number of the verbs of a story. Both are standard coding procedures in the relevant literature (see Ess-Dykema 1984, Schifffrin 1981). The term "aktionsart" refers to the inherent aspect of the verbs, that is, to their semantic property which describes the inherent manner of verbal action. Both the aktionsart and the aspect of a verb grammaticalise distinctions pertaining to situations: their difference lies in the fact that aspect is a grammatical category associated with

the verb while the aktionsart involves "*the lexically conveyed meaning of the verb denoting one particular kind of situation as opposed to another*" (Bamberg 1987: 46). A very influential classification of the verbs according to their aktionsart is Vendler's scheme (1967: 97-121) which posed the following four categories: *achievement*, *accomplishment*, *activity* and *state*. The first two categories are telic and the last two atelic. Specifically, verbs which are classified as achievements (e.g. lose, find, begin, stop, recognise, realise, put, spot etc) are instantaneous occurrences at a single moment. Accomplishments (e.g. run a mile, paint a picture, build a house, write a novel, make a chair etc) differ from achievements because of their inherent duration. They involve actions which proceed to a termination. By contrast, activities (e.g. run but not run a mile, paint, write etc) are processes which go on in time with no set terminal point. Though activities resemble states in that they both lack intrinsic endpoints, states (e.g. believe, know, love, desire, hate etc) are even lower in transitivity and cannot be described as events: they involve time periods in an indefinite and nonunique sense.

The semantic classification of the HP verbs in the data involved all verbs except for the quotative verbs (HP verbs of saying). The classification also took into account changes in the aktionsart of a verb due to the context of the utterance in which the verb occurred. In particular, it classified as achievements HP verbs which immediately follow punctual time adverbs (e.g. *xafnika*: all of a sudden, *se kapia fasi*: at some point, *tote*: just then etc) or ingressive auxiliaries (e.g. *pao ke*: go and, *arhizo ke*: begin to etc). Both Ess-Dykema (1984) and Fleischman (1990) suggested that the use of these elements before a verb in the HP is very frequently motivated by the need to convert the verb's inherent semantic nature into an achievement; it thus conveys instantaneity and emphasises the initial endpoints of the verb. Ess-Dykema and Fleischman also reported a strong predilection of the HP instances in their data for co-occurrence with verbs semantically classified as achievements. In Ess-Dykema's data, for instance, more than 80% of the HP verbs were achievements. This finding was absolutely confirmed in the data. 94.1% and 88.9% of the HP verbs in BSA and BSC respectively were classified as achievements. The rest are accomplishments and there

are no instances of activities and states, as can be seen in table 21 in §6.5.3. As regards subdivisions within the achievement verbs, the stories again confirm the finding in the literature (see Schiffrin 1981, Wolfson 1982, Fleischman 1990) that the HP co-occurs with motion verbs and verbs of perception (e.g. see, hear, understand in the sense of come to realise etc). Half of the HP verbs are motion verbs and another third are perception verbs.

The above figures are revealing of the nature of the HP in the data: it is a tense which not only moves the action forward but also underscores its plot-advancing role by focusing on the endpoints of the events. This role will be found to bear relevance to its unfolding function (see §6.6.2). Fleischman (1990: 210) suggested that the plot-advancing action-HP (in her terms Narrative Present) is inextricably bound up with oral narration. By contrast, written narration is characterised by HP atelic verbs which in her terms instantiate the "Historical or Visualising Present". The discussion of the written corpus will make the above difference more apparent (see §6.5.3 and §6.6.4).

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC	WSA	WSC
HP/Total Verbs	12.1	1.7	20.8	4.3	5.1	3.2
HP/Event Verbs	31	4.6	44.2	8.3	9.7	6.3

Table 20: Mean Percentages of HP Verbs with respect to the Total Number of Verbs and Event Verbs

As already suggested, the second measure involving the HP is the percentage of its verbs (excluding the quotative verbs) with respect to the total number of the stories' verbs as well as with the number of their event verbs. This measure was judged to be a necessary step towards decoding the functioning of HP in the data. Specifically, proponents of the evaluative function of HP (e.g. Ess-Dykema 1984, Schiffrin 1981) have postulated a percentage of approximately one third and in any case of less than

half of the event verbs of a story, for the HP to be able to function evaluatively, that is, to be at a safe distance from turning into the norm of a story. As table 20 above shows, the data analysis first of all showed that the "rule of thumb" of the literature is generally valid though the exceptions to it do not by any means cancel the evaluative functioning of the HP (see §6.6.3). Secondly, there is a significant difference in the use of HP verbs in the SA vs SC: the former present an increased percentage of HP verbs compared to the latter both in the basic ($t=5.85$, $df=15$, $p<.001$) and in the free corpus ($t=5.93$, $df=36$, $p<.001$). This difference adds to the line of findings according to which the occurrence of the HP is very restricted in the SC. The increased frequency of HP verbs in the free corpus compared to the basic corpus is immediately related to the device's saturation level and will be discussed in §6.6.3.

6.5.2 Modes of Speech and Thought Presentation

The umbrella-term CD, while extremely useful for embracing very similar phenomena, obscures a whole range of subtleties in the area of speech and thought rendering which need to be taken into account in a systematic study of CD. The prototypical distinction in the literature is between direct and indirect forms of speech and thought rendering. However, the latter ones were excluded from CD as formally and functionally distinct. Indirect speech and thought reporting are characterised in opposite terms from CD in the literature, namely as indicative of diegetic discourse which is based on the modes of summarising and condensation. The devices' main differences lies in their claim to evidentiality: it has been repeatedly stressed (e.g. Bakhtin 1973, Banfield 1973, Genette 1980, Li 1986, Partee 1973, Young 1988 etc) that direct quotes by adopting the voice and the point of view of the original speaker come across as authentic representations and exact reproductions of a verbal communication; by contrast, indirect speech is viewed as a form of paraphrase which does not imply fidelity to the source, that is, which, even if it undertakes a commitment to the content of the original message, does not do so for its form. Related to the above difference is their difference in the effects of dramatisation and immediacy. As Schiffrin (1981: 58) appropriately suggested

Direct quotes increase the immediacy of an utterance which occurred in the past by allowing the speaker to perform that talk in its original form, as if it were occurring at the present moment (Hymes 1977, Wolfson 1978). It is through a combination of deictic and structural changes that direct quotes have this effect: the narrative framework replaces the situation of speaking as the central reference point-becoming the locus for time, place and person indicators, as well as the arena within which speech acts are performed. Because indirect reports of past utterances do not involve the same deictic and structural changes, the same effect of immediacy is not created

The above view was clearly confirmed in the data. First of all, indirect modes of speech and thought rendering are extremely rare in oral stories (ie only five instances altogether in SA). Secondly, even when they occur they lack both the unfolding and the evaluating functioning of CD instances. To mention only two pieces of evidence which strongly suggest this, indirect speech and thought rendering do not exhibit any co-occurrence with the HP and the rest of proximal evaluative devices which normally enhance the dramatic effect of CD; at the same time they are backgrounded rather than saliently positioned. For instance, in narratives which make use of both CD and indirect speech, the latter does not coincide with the main tellable events which the former sets off.

In the following example from a story about the narrator's encounter with a fortune-teller, the foregrounded and tellable prediction involves the narrator's son. This prediction formed the motivation of the storytelling: the narrator related the story at a point at which her son was faced with the problem that the fortune-teller had predicted. The other predictions did not form part of the story's motivation and are not mentioned again in the narrative, ie they are not crucial part of the plot. The difference in textual foregrounding between the primary prediction and the secondary ones is reflected in that the former is realised by CD while the latter are rendered in indirect speech (underlined):

(91) ... *mu pe xero gho dhiafora
praghmata/ mu pe oti kapios tha me
ipostirixi sti dhulia/ mu ipe oti kapu*

... she said various things to me you
know/ she told me that somebody
would support me in my job/ she told

tha ta halaso me ton arhisidakti tis efimeridhas/

me that I would have a fight with the editor of the paper/

mu lei kapio provlima ehi to pedhi su/ tha perasi mu lei/ tha ne poli/ tin idha pu tarahitike/ dhen ithele na mu pi...

she tells me/ your son has a problem/ rather he is gonna have a problem she tells me/ it will be very.../ I saw her being upset/ she didn't want to say more...

Efi G., FSA

Additionally, in the cases of two versions of the same story, one for adults and one for children, a common means for backgrounding the fore-front events of the SC and depriving them of their tellability force, is to employ indirect discourse instead of CD (also see §7.1.2): e.g.

(92) a. (*onset of the climax*) *htipai to telefono/ ine i mana mu ke mu lei kleghodas/ pethane o papus su...*

(onset of the climax) the telephone rings/ it's my mother **who tells me** crying/ your grandpa is dead...

b. *ihame na dhume ton papu mu ke ti ghiaghia mu ghia dhio vdhomadhes/ otan mu ipe i mama mu oti ton papu ton ihe htipisi fortigho/ ke ihe fighi/*

we hadn't seen my grandpa and grandma for two weeks/ **when my mum told me that** he had been run over by a truck/ and he had "gone" (euphemism for death)/

Alex N.

As can be seen above, the climactic death announcement, which is given in CD (introduced by HP) in 92a (version for adults), is deprived of its dramatisation effect in 92b (version for children) where it is rendered in indirect speech.

In view of the discussion above, the modes of speech and thought representation which were examined in the data as part of CD only involved categories of direct

discourse. Specifically, CD was sub-categorised into *direct speech (DS)*, *direct thought (DT)*, *free direct speech (FDS)* and *free direct thought (FDT)*². Prototypically, FDS and FDT describe speech and thought which is lacking in the reporting clause and the quotation marks (for details see Wales 1990: 189-92). In Leech & Short's (1981) scheme of speech and thought presentation though, cases where there is a reporting clause but no quotation marks were also treated as FDS instances. The coding of the data adopted Leech & Short's general guideline, used in their scheme for the variants (ie free indirect discourse) departing from the prototypical format of indirect discourse, according to which their definition should be one of "*family resemblance rather than one dependent upon the presence of a particular defining feature*" (1981: 329). The application of this guideline to free direct discourse resulted in broadening its scope by including in it cases in which the reporting clause occurs finally in the reported clause. It has to be underlined here that in spoken Greek the introducer presents a flexible positioning in the line (utterance): it can occur initially, medially and finally: e.g.

(93) *tis leo trexe tis leo na dhis to faghito sto furno*

I tell her run **I tell her** to check the food in the oven

Maria B., FSC

The coding of the CD forms in the data first of all showed that DS instances normally have the lion's share compared to modes of thought presentation (see table 21 in §6.5.3). The same goes for dialogues: only 13.1% and 11.5% of the total instances of CD in BSA and FSC respectively are in the form of dialogues. The percentage increases in FSA (55 instances, that is, 34.6% of the total instances): this is in line with the overall finding about the increased use of CD in this corpus of spontaneous stories. Additionally, SC proved to be more "controlled" as reflected in their reduced use of free direct discourse compared to SA. Free direct discourse when placed in the cline of modes of speech and thought representation ranging from the purely mimetic

² Categories and abbreviations adopted from Leech & Short 1981.

to the purely diegetic or from the total fading of the narratorial voice to its total control, occupies the "purely mimetic" end of the continuum (see Leech & Short *idem*). Thus, its restricted use in SC compared to SA where it nearly equals the frequency of direct discourse, suggests an increased narratorial effacing in the latter. This finding adds to the overall finding about the avoidance of speech and thought presentation in SC.

A last count concerning instances of CD in the data involved coding the "persons" with whom instances of CD co-occur most frequently. The results are not surprising. First of all, the majority of DT instances in the data (66.7% in FSA, 100% in FSC, 75% in BSA) are first-person thoughts unlike the direct speech instances which are most commonly third person singular (e.g. 66.1% in FSA, 64.2% in FSC, 70.5% in BSA). The predilection for first- rather than third-person DTs is connected with choices that pertain to considerations of narratorial control. First-person DT or FDT modes are less controlled than the third-person ones, since the former do not imply narratorial omniscience (see Leech & Short 1981: 344): the narrator is in the position to directly observe her own thoughts. As regards the fact that the "saying" in instances of CD is done by other characters more than the narrator, the explanation for this can be traced to Fleischman's (1990: 84) view that in personal experience stories the narrators' need to foreground their own words is reduced by the nature of personal narration in which the narratorial "ego" is intrinsically salient.

6.5.3 Historical Present and Constructed Dialogue in Written Narration

Both CD and HP have been unanimously characterised in the literature as devices prototypically belonging to the communicative context of oral narration and strongly associated with the storytelling of societies which exhibit a rich orality tradition. As regards the HP in particular, Fleischman (1990) and Fludernik (1991, 1992a) have argued that the use of the device in literary narration is historically traceable to its migration from oral narrative contexts into the medieval popular literature of English and of Romance languages; there, its dynamic pattern of rapid alternations with the

Past characteristic of oral storytelling started to gradually dismantle until it ultimately entered narrative *écriture* mainly in the form of sustained sequences that portray static situations. This orality-associated nature of the HP and CD was undoubtedly confirmed in the data by the comparative analysis between oral and written stories. As tables 18 and 19 (see §6.5) showed, the use of both devices is substantially reduced in the written corpus compared to oral SA while remaining steadily low in the SC of the two modalities. However, the full difference between oral and written stories lies not only in the frequency of HP and CD but also and more importantly in their patterns of use and discoursal functioning (see §6.6.4).

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC	WSA	WSC
Achievements	95.3	91.2	97.1	88.9	46.1	49.9
Accomplishments	4.7	5.6	1.2	11.1	1.9	0
Activities	0	3.2	1.7	0	22.6	16.7
States	0	0	0	0	29.4	33.4

Table 21: Mean Percentages of the *Aktionsart* Classifications of the HP Verbs

In terms of specific coding measures this difference is mirrored both in the "aktionsart" of the HP verbs and in the modes of CD. First, as can be seen in table 21 above, there is a serious reduction of the HP verbs which can be classified as achievements in favour of atelic verbs. These results point to the use of a scenic or visualising HP which differs both in its contexts of occurrence and in its discoursal effects from the diegetic (action) HP of oral narration.

The second striking differentiation between oral and written stories concerns the quotative verbs of CD. As already seen, instances of CD in oral narration are as a rule introduced by the verb "*leo*" in the HP. This proves to be a major vehicle for the orality-associated use of CD as the reduction of "*leo*" (40% in WSA and 30% in WSC) and of the co-occurrence of the quotative verbs with the HP (30% in WSA and

25% in WSC) reveals. The use of other quotative verbs such as "*psithirizo*" (whisper), "*fonazo*" (shout), "*rotao*" (ask) at the expense of "*leo*" implicates increase of the narratorial control due to the interpretation on the act of saying that these verbs impose. At the same time, their co-occurrence with the past tense rather than the HP implicates loss in the immediacy and dramatic effect of CD. Immediately related to this is the reduction of their systematic co-occurrence and co-operation with shifts to the HP. The analysis of the written stories clearly suggests that the HP is functionally unrelated to instances of CD whose quotative verb is not in the HP or in the past progressive and "na+past progressive" forms.

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC	WSA	WSC
DS	52	82.3	44.2	76.9	80.1	94.6
DT	6	17.7	8.1	11.5	3.2	5.4
FDS	36	0	41	11.5	12.5	0
FDT	6	0	6.7	0	4.2	0

Table 22: Mean Percentages of Modes of CD

The fact that the CD of the written stories differs in immediacy from its oral pattern is also reflected in the frequency of its modes. Specifically, the occurrence of both dialogue (only 3 instances in WSA, no instances in WSC) and free direct forms (see table 22 above) radically decreases. This suggests a clear move from the narrator's total lack of control favoured in oral narration towards the end of narratorial control. The above findings in addition to bringing to the fore the first features of a literacy-based use of HP and CD suggest that once again SC lie close to the choices of the written-based model of narration. Specifically, they too present a restricted occurrence of the HP and CD and, while not sharing the predilection of written stories for atelic HP verbs, they nevertheless show signs of a "literate" strategy of CD use both through their decrease of the quotative verb "*leo*" and of free direct discourse. The extent to which the use of HP and CD in SC bears an affinity with that of written stories will be fully shown in the discussion of the devices' patterns of use.

6.5.4 Interim Summary

The above discussion of the coding procedures applied to the HP and CD instances for uncovering their binding-level function was a preparatory step before moving to their patterns of use and unfolding and evaluative function. The aspects of the devices unravelled so far have elucidated their nature in the data, and as will be shown in the following discussion, they bear immediate relevance to the interweaving of their co-occurrence and dual function. To sum up, first the overall strong occurrence and co-occurrence of the HP and CD characterises only the SA whereas it is considerably restricted in the SC. Secondly, analysis of the written corpus from which the literacy-based use of the HP and CD was extracted, suggested that the major vehicles for the orality-associated nature of the devices are as follows:

- a. The classification of the overwhelming majority of the HP verbs as achievements.
- b. The predominance of the quotative verb "*leo*" and its striking occurrence in the HP.
- c. The "division of labour" between modes of direct and free direct discourse in the instances of CD and the sparsity of indirect modes of rendering which proved to be functionally unrelated to CD.
- iv. The compelling occurrence and more importantly co-occurrence of the devices in a story.

With the exception of a. above the rest of the findings suggest that the SC, as has proved to be normally the case with their unfolding and evaluating choices, show signs of a literate strategy in the use of HP and CD. This will emerge more forcefully in the following discussion which will shed light on the core issues of the devices' use in the stories, namely their patterning and orchestration of discoursal functions.

6.6 Patterns of Use and the Dual Function of Historical Present and Constructed Dialogue

6.6.1 Setting off the Climax

The prototypical textual instantiation of the evaluative function of HP and CD which also constitutes their most regular pattern of use is to be found within a story's climactic part. The strong association of both devices with the climax is first of all reflected in that their use is almost unexceptionally confined to climactic (classic form) narratives or "ending at the high point" narratives, in other words to narratives which present the feature of tension and are thus more likely to be performed and dramatised. The only exceptions to this rule are two stories for children which can be classified as "two-event" patterns but the use of the HP and CD is very restricted in them and takes the form of a rapid switch.

When in climactic narratives, HP and CD as a rule co-occur with the peak events, thus setting them off as the most immediate and dramatic moments of the story. In doing so, they both present regular patterns of use. To begin with the HP, the switch from the preceding tense (usually "aorist" or imperfective past) to the HP marks the onset of the climax; its subsequent use is extended to the end of the climax and the beginning of the resolution section or of the evaluation section before that, if this is clearly set off from the climax. The exceptions to this consistent pattern, that is, temporary switches out of the HP within the climax, are utterances in the imperfect or less commonly in the aorist which encode on- or off-the-plotline embedded orientation, evaluative remarks, references to characters' internal or physical states and/or states and actions that lead the story to its resolution.

The above pattern of occurrence of the HP in the climax is in accordance with the literature on the HP in English and Romance languages (Fludernik 1991, Fleischman 1990, Schiffrin 1981, Silva-Corvalan 1983): the common denominator of these approaches regardless of their model of narrative analysis is that the shift out of the HP signals resolution/result point of the climactic action while temporary shifts out of it within the climax cover parenthetical or evaluative commentary. To illustrate the

pattern, following are climactic extracts from the data. The onset of the climax marked by a shift to the HP is bold and subsequent temporary shifts out of the HP are underlined:

(94) Story about the narrator's father's arrest (also see example 76a):

(onset of climax) ... **lipon vgheni tote/**
vghenune exo/ vghenun ap tin porta
tris/ itan ki alli apexo/ perimenan ki
alli/ posi itane/ xero eghe/ ipe o
pateras mu oti itan dekaefta/

ton pernune/ *ki arhizi ekini i mana mu*
na klei na htipiete na othirete/...

vgheni exo ekini/ fevghe/ pai ston
adherfo tis/

eghe eki pera monos mu/ ekina ta dhio
kimudan/ Panaghia mu ti na../...

(onset of climax) ...**so then he goes**
out/ they go out/ three men come out
of the door/ there were more people
outside/ more people were waiting/
how many were they?/ I don't know/
my father said that they were
seventeen/

they take him/ and my poor mother
starts crying/ shouting/ mourning/...

she goes out/ she goes away/ she goes
to her brother/

I was left there all alone/ those two
(the narrator's brother and sister) were
fast asleep/ oh my God what... (ellipsis:
what could I do)

Hristos H., BSA

(95) From a story about a crazy stagnight (see the whole story in Appendix, ex. 6). After a boring pre-marital drinking evening the bridegroom and the best-man (the narrator) manage to escape and land in a "skiladhiko" (culture-specific and loaded term, literally "the dogs' house", which refers to a night-club involving belly-dancing and plate-smashing).

Pame *telika sto skiladhiko/ ke pion les*
vlepume eki pera mesa/ ton adherfo tis
Katerinas/

we finally **go** to the night club/ and
guess who we bump into / Katerinas's
brother (the bride's brother)/

(Suspension of the climax for insertion
of background information: shift out of
the HP)

kala aftos xeris ehi to blokaki/ dhen ehi
lefta/ ehi to blokaki ton epitaghon as
pume/

well he's "got the chequebook" (he is
loaded) y'know/ he doesn't carry cash/
he's got the chequebook/

etsi plironi o Dhimitrakis/ triada
hiliadhes taxi plirose ghia na erthi sto
ghamo tis adherfis tu/ tipota allo dhe
su leo/

(Switch to HP once again: return to the climax)

ferni eki pera tin orhistra/ ke pare ta
uiskia/ ke pare tis orhistres/ ki apo dho
ki apo ki/ ke ta alla ta skilia sto
trapezi/ ke dhostu mexri tis exi i ora to
proi/

(Beginning of resolution: shift out of the HP)

tin alli mera to mathane/ ki arhisane na
mas kinighane...

this is how little Dhimitris pays/ he
payed thirty thousand drachmas to
come to his sister's wedding in a taxi/
what more can I say/

so he **brings** the band there/ and there
comes whisky and music to our hearts'
content (lit: and take the whisky/ and
take the band/)/ and here and there/
and all the broads (dancing) on the
table/ and on the fun goes till six in the
morning/...

next day they found out/ and they
started being after us...

Takis G., FSA

(96) Since the example refers to a publicly known incident in Greece all names of persons and places are omitted after the narrator's request:

... **erhete** o pateras mu afu eklise to
tilefono/ itane katapaghomenos/ ton
kitame ihe allaxi hilia hromata/

simveni tipota **leme/** pemas/ ohi dhe
boro na sas po/ mu pe to pedhi na min
po/

e na min ta polilogho telika ton
pithume/ ton pithume lei kitaxte na
dhite ehi pesi ena aeroplano/ dhen
xerume omos pu pos pios mimos
sothike/ xerume oti ine apo ti sira tu
.../ o ... petaghetete i mana mu/ ti thele
ke to leghe/

leo sopa re mama pu tha ne o ... ki esi/
o ... lei i o .../ dhe bori na ne allos/ o

... my father **comes** after hanging up
the phone/ he was petrified/ we look at
him he had lost his colour (lit: he had
changed a thousand of colours)/

is there anything wrong **we say/** tell us/
no I can't tell you/ the kid told me not
to/

to be brief we finally persuade him/ we
persuade him/ he says listen a plane
has crashed/ we don't know though
who when where is he alive/ we just
know he was a classmate of... / ... my
mum says/ why did she have to say
this name/

I say easy mum it can't be him/ no it's
him she says/ it can't be anyone else/

... *aftus tus dhio xeri kala/ ke tus*
aghapai poli/

either him or .../ the kid knows only
 these two very well and loves them
 very much.../

FSA

As can be seen from the examples above, temporary shifts out of the HP can exhibit various functions: they can create suspense by briefly interrupting the climax (example 94: "there were more people outside..."; example 95: "well he's got the chequebook..."); or, they can provide information crucial for the understanding of the climactic events (e.g. in example 95 the information about Dhimitris' finances and generosity is immediately related to his act of generosity towards brother-in-law and best-man at the night-club); or, they can complement the action by the characters' emotive reactions to it (e.g. example 96: ... he was petrified, he had lost his colour) and the narratorial intervention or "asides" (example 96: why did she have to say this name). On the whole, they span the gamut of encoding local results of and reactions to the climactic action: this is nicely illustrated in the two peak points of the story of "**Forty Five Johnnies**". In the first climactic part the two shifts out of the HP encode an external evaluation of the climactic action and a physical occurrence as a result of it respectively:

(97) ... *sok/ to ti pathame dhen leghete/... ihe htipisi ligho sto podhi tu*
ke sta heria tu/ puthena allu/...

we were shocked/ I can't tell you how bad it was/... he was slightly
 bruised on his arms and legs/ nowhere else/...

In the story's second climax, a rapid shift into the past tense also encodes a result of the high-point action in the form of physical occurrence: ... *ki arhisan ta emata* (and blood was shed).

To sum up the functions that temporary shifts out of the HP present in the climactic part, they all contribute to the play between action and non-action or acceleration and deceleration of the narrative flow which proves to be a major means of building up

the climactic part. The action-part is all in the HP and, as can be seen from the examples above, shifts back to it are strategically positioned at stanza-initiation point where they function as markers that draw attention to the upcoming unit. The effect of these stanza-initial action HP verbs which impinge onto non-action lines is a sense of rapid plot movement. This as a rule makes them feel more "plot-forwarding" than their corresponding forms in the past. The play between foregrounded accelerating or plot-forwarding HP verbs and backgrounded decelerating perfective or imperfective past tense forms is particularly evident in cases of multi-peak narratives: there, the switch out of the HP marks the ending of each peak point. The subsequent use of the past tense covers the section of the loosening of tension and deceleration of the narrative flow. This is done mostly by means of an evaluation section. The new switch to the HP marks the building up or the onset of the new climax. Example 96 above is the first climax of a story with two peak points: the story is gradually built up to the announcement of a possible death and subsequently moves from there on to the final death announcement which constitutes its second peak. Right after the first peak the shift out of the HP signals the beginning of the evaluation section which happens to be clearly positioned in this story, and is additionally extended to the whole phase of loosening the tension up to the onset of the second peak. The following extract resumes the story from where example 96 ended:

*egho dhen ithela na to pistepso oti bori na tane/ vevea ola ta pedhia
ta iha sibathisi ke ta ha ghnorisi tin epohi pu iha pai sta .../ alla itane
toso siglonistiki i ghnorimia me to .../ pragmatika dhe borusa na
pistepso oti itane aftos/ ki apo tis tesseris mehri tis exi dhiarkos ekana
alla pragmata/ prospathusa na dhioxo apo ki to mialo mu...*

I didn't want to believe that it could be him/ of course I was fond of all the guys when I met them in .../ but my relation to... was so shattering/ I just couldn't believe it could be him/ so from four o'clock to six o'clock I was doing other things/ I tried to get the whole thing out of my mind...

The story goes on talking about what the narrator did between the first and the second announcement and describing her feelings of suspense. The whole segment is in the past tense (imperfect and aorist). The next shift to the HP is met right at the onset of

the second peak:

*... ke pano eki pu telionan i idhisis akuo tin ekfonitria ke lei/ e lei dhe
tha to xehaso pote me ta loghia akrivos opos to ipe/ lei...*

... and as the news bulletin was ready to finish I hear the woman
saying/ **she says**/ I'll never forget the exact words/ **she says**...

As can be seen from this example, shifts to CD can also exhibit the pattern of climax demarcation that was discussed above with regard to the HP. The pattern is also illustrated in the following climax from a story about the narrator's encounter with a person with a "second sense". Its telling aims at fortifying the narrator's argument that "such people and such things exist" which was put forward against the opinion of one of the two people in his audience:

(98) ... [etsi to pighena eghe olo
kahipopta]

*otan tha ftsasete **mu lei** sto horio tha hi
erthi o thios su apo tin Komotini na
sas dhi sto spiti/ leo tote kati ghinetel/
ki otan tha pate mu lei sto ktima tu kir
Adoni i Liza/ iha ena skilo/ i Liza mu
lei tha hi ghennisi/*

... [I was thinking like that all the time
being suspicious and stuff]/

(onset of the climax: shift to CD) when
you go (medial: **he tells me**) to the
village your uncle will be there from
Komotini to pay you a visit/ then I say
(think) something is going on here/ and
when you go (medial: he tells me) to
the farm Lisa of Mr Adonis/ he had a
dog/ Lisa (he tells me) will have
whelped/

Dhimitris V., FSA

However, it is more common for a climactic turn to be marked by a shift to the HP rather than to CD: while the onset of all peaks in stories which exhibit HP instances are marked by a shift to HP, only a fourth of them (22% in FSA, 25% in FSC) are marked by a shift to CD alone. This difference is a reflection of the overall pattern of the two devices' co-occurrence and unfolding function (see §6.6.2). Specifically, shifts to HP are preferred as signposts of the beginning of new textual segments and as devices for emphasising on the initial endpoint of an event-schema, while shifts to CD normally follow them and are triggered by them. Applied to the climactic part this

takes the form of building up the climactic stanzas by means of signalling their initiation with shifts to the HP; these are followed by CD instances which as a rule encode results and evaluations of the climactic action (also see Georgakopoulou 1992c). The following extract illustrates the devices' co-operation in the construction of the climactic part. The onset of the climax is marked by a shift to the HP; subsequently the following climactic stanzas are made up of a stanza-initial HP verb whose function is to mark the upcoming unit, followed by CD instances which are projected as resulting of or triggered by the climactic event of the firing of the shotgun:

(99) ... *ke to afisa eki dhen
sinidhitopiisa mipos ine ghemato
tipota/*

... and I left it [the shotgun] there/ I
didn't realise it could be loaded not at
all/

*ti dhefteri fora me to pu travao bam
petaghetete petaghetete ke meni sta heria
mu/*

(onset of the climax) the second time
as I pull the trigger bang it goes off/
it goes off and "stays in my hands"/

*petaghetete pu les i sfera ne alla eftihos
dhen efighe kato/ ki apo kato itan to
mulari e/ efighan mazemena pros ta
pano/*

so the bullet goes off/ but luckily it
didn't go downwards/ cos the mule was
downstairs/ but it all went upwards/

*beni i adherfi mu mesa/ ise zodano/ ise
kala/ ise kala/ anisihi na min xeri ti
ghinete/*

my sister comes in/ are you alive
(ellipsis: she tells me)/ are you okay/
are you okay/ she was worried not
knowing what was going on/

*mazevode tora oli sto horio/ su lene
kati kako eghine stu Karuzu to spiti
eghine lei kati etsi buum/ kai dhen ine
ghia kalo/*

now everyone in the village **gets
together/ they say (think)** something
must have happened in Karutzo's
house/ something happened just like
this "bang"/ and it's not a good thing/

*trehune eki/ irthane/ lene ti kanete
edho/*

so they **run** to our place/ they came
there/ they **say** what are you doing
here/

*pai lei mia tu patera mu ti dhiaolo
kanis edho/ to spiti sto ghazosane olo/
rihnune tu lei me to dufeki/*

some woman goes and tells my dad
(lit: goes says some woman to my
dad)/ what the hell are you doing here/
they shot right through your house/

*ti les vre pu rihune tis lei/ eghe tis
eho kripsi tis sferes/ mono to dufeki ine
ki/ o pateras mu ta krive/ ke dhen
ipirhane sferes safta/*

*erhete mu lei i adherfi mu/ pighene
apenadi sta pedhia ghiati ama rthi mu
lei tha se skotosi/ o pateras mu itan
nevrikos/ ke su lei tora tha fai xilo/...*

*skotose to tu kanane ti to filas/ eghe
kitagha etsi/ ta herakia mazemenal/*

ti to filas/ pighe na rixi dufeki/

they are shooting (she says) with a
shotgun/

what are you talking about he tells her/
I have hidden the bullets away/ they
could only find the shotgun/ my dad
was hiding them/ and there were no
bullets in them/

my sister comes and tells me (lit:
comes tells me my sister)/ go across
the road to the lads cos if he comes
he'll kill you/ my dad was touchy/ and
she says (to herself) now she's gonna
get a spanking/...

kill her **they were telling him**/ what
do you need her for/ I was looking like
that/ my hands held together/

kill her/ she tampered with the gun/

Sofia I., FSA
(For the whole story see Appendix, ex. 8)

The pattern of co-operation of the HP with the CD described above, that is, the "division of labour" between the HP which takes over the plot-forwarding part of the climax and the CD which sets off its results is also illustrated in the following example. This time the role of CD as a device for encoding the results of the climactic action is intensified by its co-occurrence with the classic evaluative instances of "results of the high point action", namely references to physical and emotive states:

(100) (onset of the climax) *xafnika
kitame vlepume enan papa/ erhotan sto
dhromol/ ki arhizume tis metanies/
metanies metanies metanies/ tris
metanies ospu na rthi o papas/*

*sta podhia mas sto ghona tora trehane
emata/ xeris tora tripaghane afta/ o*

(onset of the climax) we suddenly see
a priest coming up the road/ and we
start the worshipping/ worshipping
worshipping worshipping/ three
worships until he came near us/

now our legs were bleeding/ you
know those (ie the pebbles) were sharp/

papas ihe lighothi sta ghelia/

*o mikros palioghaidhura pu mevaless
ke tripisa ta podhia/ kodepses na me
skotosis me tis vlakies su/ ekleghe tora
aftos/...*

the priest was laughing so much/

**the little one (ellipsis for my little
brother says) you bitch making me
hurt my legs/ you almost killed me
you stupid girl/ now he was crying...**

Sofia I., FSA

As can be seen above, CD co-occurs with proximal past-progressive forms to encode the result of the story's climactic action which was the priest's "worshipping" of the two children (the narrator and her brother) out of a misunderstanding of their mother's advice.

A fixed and common form that the co-operation of the HP and the CD presents when setting off a story's climactic part takes is met in "ending at the high point narratives": the climax is marked by a shift to the HP which is subsequently followed by an instance of CD that forms the story's punchline: e.g.

(101) ... *milaghe buf ta nerantzia apo
kato na pighenune/ na htipane duv duv/
aftos na milai/*

(onset of climax) *se mia fasi omos ena
ton perni/ ghiati molis pighenane ta
nerantzia aftos eskive/ fevghane ta
nerantzia sikonotan/ milaghe sti
sinehia/*

(pop-type reiteration of the climactic
act) *sto telos tu travai enas duuv/
(punchline) opote lei eshos eshos
eshos/ tora tha sas miliso ghia tin
aghrotiki politiki/*

... he was speaking splat went the
oranges/ falling split splat/ he kept on
speaking/

(onset of climax) **but at some point
one of them hits him/** because as an
orange would approach he would duck/
and then stand up again/ and start
speaking again/

(pop-type reiteration of the climactic
act) **at the end somebody throws one
and splat/ (punchline) so he says
shame shame shame/ I will now go
on to agricultural policies/**

Thomas H., FSA
(also see example 9 and Appendix, ex. 7)

In sum, the climactic part proves to be a *locus classicus* for the co-operation of the

HP and CD as dual function devices. Their unfolding functioning is instantiated in the stanza-formative patterns of co-occurrence described above; these succeed in segmenting off and stringing together the units of the climactic part, in pacing the narrative flow and in calibrating the play between the climactic action and its results. In this way, they constitute the building blocks of the organisation of the climax. Additionally, the co-operation of HP and CD, frequently corroborated by the rest of the proximal evaluatives, exhibits the evaluative effect of setting off the climax as a scene of experiential iconicism and dramatisation; this enables the "peak" events to speak for themselves and become accessible to the hearers' perception of them.

6.6.2 Pre-Climactic Stanza-Formation

Around half of the instances of HP and one third of the CD instances in the data (SA in particular) are met outside the stories' climactic part (see 23a below). This suggests that the devices' contexts of occurrence are far-reaching and certainly extend beyond the confines of the climax. Pre-climactically their prototypical unfolding use is the demarcation of narrative turns; hence their strategic positioning. Shifts to the HP are always placed at the beginning of stanzas as signposts of the upcoming unit and of its relation to the story's theme. As in the climax, the stanza-initial positioning of the HP as a plot-forwarding device is preferred over that of CD (see 23b below). CD instances normally occur within the boundaries of a stanza following a shift to the HP. Thus, the force which draws the two devices together is much more prevalent in the direction from the HP to CD rather than the other way round. The following figures speak for themselves: in FSA 51.8% and in FSC 50% of the total number of the quotative verbs in HP respectively are preceded by a verb in the HP. The numbers are much lower in the opposite direction: 19.7% of the HP verbs of action follow a HP verb of saying in the SA and 20% in the SC.

The function of CD following the HP in a stanza-formative patterning can either be "*prospective*", that is, an index of the upcoming unit or "*retrospective*", that is, a signal of the result/resolution of the narrative turn and a device for closing it off (terms adapted from Bamberg 1990: 269). In the first case, the shift to CD

immediately follows a stanza-initial shift to an HP verb of motion or in any case an achievement, either as part of the stanza-initial line or in the second line. In this form, CD is perceived as a stanza-initial device which joins the HP in pushing the action forward and marking the turn as more salient: e.g.

(102) a. *(beginning of a pre-climactic stanza)...lipon sikonode ke mu lene katse kato na se tripsume eki/ ti epathes apotoma...*

(beginning of pre-climactic stanza)... so they get up and tell me sit down so that we can give you a massage/ what's happened to you...

Panaghos B., FSA

b. *mia mera ton pianune tu lene aneva pano sekino to dhedro...*

one day they catch him and tell him (lit: catch him tell him) climb up this tree...

Tula G., FSA

c. *prohthes me perni o Berdhusis apo Athina/ mu lei ekines tis ghiades pu valate eki kato sto horio/...*

two days ago Berdhusis calls me from Athens/ he (ell) tells me what happened with this bet you set in the village/...

Thomas H., FSA

In particular in the case of the stanza-initial "*pao (ke) leo*" (I go (and) say) which is very common in the data the two devices together act as a powerful macroconnector. The fixity of the phrase in terms of form and environment (ie at stanza-initial position) is such that it is legitimate to suggest that the HP and CD co-occurrence in this case has ended up acting as a semantically neutral, grammaticised marker of narrative turns which does not carry any information about the nature of the verbal event:

(103) *ke pao egho ke tus leo sto ghrafio/ dhe boro na katalavo pios eghrapse afta ta praghmata/...*

and I go and tell them in the office/ I can't understand who wrote these things

Fotini B., FSA

The stanza-initial combination of HP and CD is less frequent in SC (see 23b below). This is just one instance of the overall policy of avoidance of the two devices and their co-operation schemes in SC (also see discussion in §6.6.3).

The second stanza-formative patterning of CD following the HP, namely the retrospective scheme, instead of directing the listener's attention to the stanza's prospective relevance, closes it off and triggers the action which follows. This occurrence is highly comparable to the climactic use of CD for encoding the evaluation or results of the peak action which is realised by HP verbs. Thus, when placed after the stanza-initial action, CD normally plays the role of the local resolution or evaluation bit of the section. The shift to the HP sets the segment in motion and pushes the action forward and the CD concludes, filters, interprets, evaluates, reflects on and results from this action. This is illustrated in the following pre-climactic extract from a story about the narrator's and his friend's "crawling on the wild side" as teenagers:

(104) ... *se kapia fasi katalavenu* *me oti ehume apomakrinthi apo ta fota ta polla/ xanavlepume allus tesseri* *nearus pu erhodusan/opa leme/ afti aneti xeris/ havale ki etsi/*

edho leo teliosame/ afu kaname to lathos ki irthame sto skotino dhromo leo afto itane to telos mas/ terma leo/

mas prospernane ki afti anipopsiasti/ teliose leo re Ghianni kati periergho simveni/

dhe boro na katalavo tu leo/ mas idhan dhio parees ke malista i mia se skotino dhromo ke dhen kanane tipota dhe mas

... **at some point we realise** that we've gone far away from the streetlights/ **we see** four more guys coming/ uh uh **we say/** they were cool you know/ mucking about/

this is it **I say/** since we were stupid enough to come to this dark street this is it I say/ this is the end I say/

they walk past us unsuspectingly/ you know what Johnny **I say/** something funny is going on here/

I tell him I can't understand it/ two gangs saw us and one of them in a dark road/ and they didn't do anything

ipane tipota/

didn't say anything to us/

*tu leo ine apistefto/ mu lei ke mena mu
fenete ligho paraxeno/*

I tell him/ it's incredible/ he tells me
yes it is odd/

*prohorame parakato/ na dhis tora ti
parakato/vlepume dhio ghinekes mones
tus/trellathikame/ dhio ghinekes mones
tus stin Athina se skotino dhromo ennia
i ora to vradhi/*

we walk further/ we see two women
on their own/ we went crazy/ two
women on their own in a dark street in
Athens at nine o'clock at night/

*pai Ghianni tu leo aftes ine sighura tu
leo pornes dhen iparhi periptosi/ ine
epi pliromis na pume....*

I am telling you Johnny (ellipsis of: **I
tell him/** I am dead certain I tell him
that they're whores/ there is no other
way/ they do it for money you know/...

Panaghiotis G., FSA
(same story as in ex. 28b)

As can be seen in the above example, the HP perception (realise, see) and motion (walk) verbs emphasise the action endpoints, thus speeding up the story's action; the CD instances exhibit a somewhat decelerating function by reflecting on and filtering the action.

A major pre-climactic context of occurrence of the HP and CD involves their function as a powerful means of demarcating the CA (see table 23a). In this case, the shift in narratorial mode (tense shift and/or shift from action to speech) impinges on the abstract of a story or its initial orientation section as a device for capturing the addressee's attention and directing it to the beginning of the action. Thus, the shift stands for a metanarrative clause of the type "now listen, the action is just beginning": e.g.

(105) a. ... *ki o ghamos itan stis
eximisi/ ki i alli eki hazevane mes sto
spiti o Sakis o pateras tu i mana tu oli
itane oli akomi sto spiti/*

... and the wedding was at 6.30/ and
the others were doing things in the
house/ Sakis his mother and his father
all of them were there/

(onset of CA) *leo egcho ghiati dhe*

(onset of CA) **I say** (say I: emphatic

viazosaste lighaki pighe 6 ke tetarto/ ke parapano i ora ke ikosi...

reference) why don't you hurry up a bit/ it is quarter past six more twenty past six...

Dinos K., FSA

b. ... *to allo ethimo pu ehun eki pano na akusis/ ena katsiki psito tetio ston kubarō/ tu to pighenune/ afto ine to ethimo/*

... now listen up/ they've got this funny custom up there/ one roast goat this big/ they bring it to the best-man/ this is the custom/

(onset of CA) *to fernun ke se mena mu lene parto to katsiki/ to kitao ki eghe tus leo ti na to kano afto...*

(onset of CA) **they bring it to me and say** the goat's yours/ I look at it and say what am I supposed to do with this...

Akis M., FSA

The patterns of use and co-operation of the HP and CD discussed above are illustrated in tables 23a and 23b below: 23a shows the devices' distribution with regard to the stories' narrative parts and 23b (next page) presents the frequency of their stanza-demarcatory patterns.

		BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC
Constructed Dialogue	CA Onset	14.3	4.5	11.2	5
	Pre-climax	19.3	17.6	25.1	20
	Climactic-part	57.4	74.1	51.3	70
	End-at-the high point	9	3.8	12.4	5
Historical Present	CA Onset	20	16.8	26.2	15.3
	Pre-climax	50	18.2	48.2	25.7
	Climactic-part	25	58.2	18.4	54.3
	End-at-the high point	5	6.8	7.2	4.7

Table 23a: Frequency of CD and HP in Narrative Parts

To close off the discussion of this section, it has to be underlined that the devices' tendency to cluster together and channel their organisational and evaluative role

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC
Beginning of stanza	51.6	37.6	43.6	31
HP+CD	21.3	6.3	32.2	9
End of stanza	27.1	56.1	24.2	60

Table 23b: Frequency of HP and CD Stanza-Positionings

through their co-operation is very frequently not exhausted at the level of setting off the climax or of demarcating pre-climactic stanzas. Instead, it appears to be much more pervasive taking the form of a systematic patterning that will be discussed below.

6.6.3 Interweaving a Systematic Patterning: Level of Saturation

This section will discuss the "level of saturation"³ that the HP and CD exhibit in terms of the orchestration of their unfolding and evaluating function; it will also argue that this represents the prototypically performed mode of oral narration in MG. The "level of saturation" as emerging from the data analysis involves the evolution of the whole of a story's Complicating Action around the co-operation of the HP with the CD in macrosegmenting and evaluating the story. The text-constitutive mechanisms of the two devices start to operate right from the onset of the CA and continue to its resolution. This means that both the pre-climactic stanzas and the climactic part accompanied by results/resolutions and/or evaluations of its action are essentially built by means of HP action and speech alternations blended with background comments, evaluative utterances and any other narratorial interventions. The only parts of the story which do not fall into this pattern are its beginning (abstract or orientation or some kind of preface) and its ending (coda or some form of closing) which are in any case normally missing from spontaneous stories (see

³ The term is used in a different sense from Ess-Dykema's "saturation level" (1984: 226) which refers to the one-third restriction of the HP verbs in a text (see §6.5.1).

§2.4.4). This overwhelming presence makes the devices function as the building blocks of the unfolding and evaluating components of the involving and animated everyday MG storytelling. To use Gülich & Quasthoff's (1986: 221) adaptation of Goffman's (1974: 503) notion of *replaying*, the devices' occurrence underlies the creation of the MG replaying narrative mode, in which the events are put on stage and acted out by the narrator. In the plotting of their patterns of use lies both the complicity and the simplicity of this global form of narrative performance: its complicity is the web of relations created by the simultaneous dual function of the devices and its simplicity is that two vehicles, namely action and speech alternation, suffice to construct its dramatic texture. As already suggested (§6.2.3), a *tertium comparationis* in this HP-CD co-operation is frequently the inter-stanza reiteration patterning: this requires the story's construction around the axis of the HP-CD orchestration.

The "saturation-level", constituting the purely representative form of engaging MG narration, can be discerned in most examples employed or to be employed in this thesis. To go back to our story of "**Forty Five Johnnies**", the first shift to HP signals the passage to the story's CA. From there on, shifts out of the HP-CD pattern are temporary and, as already seen, their purpose is to encode background or evaluative comments and local results. The pattern is eventually broken by the shift into the past tense (... *telos padon kapu varethikane*: and anyway they finally got bored) which marks the onset of the story's resolution. Of the story's total 34 stanzas, 28 are made up of instances of HP and/or CD either alone or blended with background commentary, evaluations and resolutions. This figure constitutes striking evidence for the overwhelming form that the saturation level of HP and CD co-operation takes in the data.

To look closely at the pattern in an example, following is a short story which could be ironically titled as "The end of a great friendship" between the narrator and his brother-in-law. The story is selected as a typical case of a narrative in which every single change of event-schema is marked by the use of one or both devices. The result

is a staccato effect and a rapid pace reminiscent of cinematic cuts which keeps the listeners' attention alert and sweeps them along from one scene to the other. The narrator relates this story to four people (two close friends and two relatives) who over an afternoon-coffee visit witness a telephone call in which he is not keen at all on talking to his brother-in-law. Having been asked about this behaviour the narrator immediately relates the story. The only person from the audience who already knows the story is his wife who nevertheless does not participate at all in the telling:

(106) *na sas po pos eghine/ ena vradhi
kathomaste apexo stin trapezaria ke
troghame/ eki irthe i o Dinos apenadi/
ton thimase me tin Eleftheria/ tus
thimase/ ke kathodusan ki afti ke
kapnizane tona pano sto allo/*

let me tell you how it happened/ one
evening we were sitting outside/ and
we were having dinner/ there came
Dinos from opposite with Eleftheria/
(turning to his daughter who is the
only one familiar with the couple
Dinos-Elftheria) do you remember
Elftheria/ do you remember them/ and
they started smoking one cigarette after
the other/

(onset of CA) *ke leo stin Eleftheria
egho/ pos esi kiria Eleftheria dhe
boreses na pisis to Dino na kopsi to
tsigharo/ pos esi/*

(onset of CA) **I (egho) say** to
Elftheria/ how couldn't you Mrs
Elftheria make Dinos quit smoking/
how couldn't you/

*aghrieeeevi o Mitsos/ lei (imitating)
aku na su po esi na kitas ton eafto su/
ke na afisis tus allus/*

Mitsos becomes fuuuuurious
(elongation)/ **he says** mind your own
business/ and leave everyone else at
peace/ do you hear me/

*leo ki egho apo mesa mu ti simveni/ i
Eleftheria lei ghiati ti ipe o anthropos/
to idhio ki o Dinos/*

I (egho) say what's going on/
Elftheria says why what did the man
say/ same with Dinos/

*fevghi i Evanthia apo ki pera/ bike
mesa/ e egho dhen xanamilisa/*

Evanthia leaves us/ she goes inside/ I
(egho) didn't speak after that/ the
others chatted a bit/

*beni i ghineka mu mesa/ tis lei tis
Evanthias/ an dhis tora ton Ilias tis lei
ke fighi avrio na mi su fani katholu
periergho/*

**my wife goes inside/ she tells
Evanthia/** if you see Ilias leaving
tomorrow don't be surprised/

lipon egho dhen xanamilisa/ fighane i

so I didn't speak after that/ the others

alli/ bikame ke emis mesa kimithikame/

*tis leo mi milisis katholu/ ke min pis
ma ma ma/ to proi mazelista proi proi
ghia na mi figho tora/*

*xipname to proi/ mazelume tis valitses/
bam eggo sto aftokinito/*

*erhete o Mitsos lei ghiati fevghe/te/
ehume dhulia tu leo/ pire o Ghiorghos
tilefono na pame sto horio/*

*lipon lei mi fevghe/te/ ki eggo dhen ipa
tipota lei/ ki eggo etsi leo kamia vlakia
kamia fora/ ekini i talepori i Evanthia
mi fevghe/te/*

*ta vazume sto aftokinito/ ghia sas tus
leo/ tha xanarthume emis tus leo/ ghia
na dho lei tha xanarthete/ tha
xanarthume tus leo/*

xekiname tora/ dhromo/ spiti mas/

*benume sto spiti gran to tilefono/ to
sikono kamia apadisi/ katalava oti
itane aftos/*

*mia alli mera perni ti mana su/ ke
imarton xero gho lei/ ki eggo dhen
kratao kakia ki afta/ ke pestu
heretismata/ ki apo dho ki apo ki/*

*opos ke tora ipe kati/ eggo omos perno
tin Evanthia kamia fora otan dhen ine*

left/ we went inside went to bed/

I tell her (ellipsis for "my wife") I
don't want a word/ and don't say but
but but/ pack up first thing tomorrow
otherwise I'll leave now/

we wake up in the morning/ we pack
our things up/ I am in the car like a
shot (lit: onomatopoeia + ellipsis:
"bam" I into the car/

Mitsos comes/ why are you going **he**
says/ we've got some things to sort out
I tell him/ Ghiorghos called and we've
got to go/

so he says don't go/ and I didn't say
anything/ and I'm being foolish
sometimes/ poor old Evanthia crying
don't go/

we put the stuff into the car/ bye **I tell**
them/ we'll be back I tell them/ I
wonder will you be back he says/ we'll
be back I say/

we set off now/ and we hit the road/
we come home/ (lit: ellipsis: the
roooooad (elongation)/ hooooome
(elongation)

we come into the house/ the telephone
rings (lit: "graaan" the telephone)/ I pick
it up no answer/ I knew it was him/

another day he calls your mother
(addressing his daughter who is part of
the audience)/ and I beg for
forgiveness (ell: he says)/ and I (eggo)
do not hold anything against him/ and
give him my best wishes and this and
that/

he said things like that now too
(referring to the telephone call which

*aftos eki/ otan ine dhen tin perno
terma/*

triggered the storytelling)/ but I call
Evanthia only when he is not there/
when he is there I don't call her/

Ilias G., FSA

The above story illustrates the orchestration of the HP and CD as the building blocks of the unfolding and evaluating components. The onset of its CA is marked by a shift to CD and from there on the construction of the climactic act of the narrator's "departure" as well as its results/consequences (e.g. Mitsos's first and subsequent phone calls) revolve around action-stanzas in HP (four stanzas), speech-stanzas in CD (five stanzas) and stanzas marked by a shift to an achievement (mostly motion) HP verb followed by CD (five stanzas). The only two stanzas which do not exhibit either of the devices are the initial orientation stanza and the closing segment which takes the audience away from the taleworld and the storyrealm and back into the immediate situation of telling. The story's action-speech alternations are fortified by salient shifts in the participant tracking: with only one exception, all stanza-initiations are marked by (mostly expressed) switch subject references; additionally, the motion HP verbs combined with spatial expressions signal shifts in the spatial centre. Thus, the HP-CD co-operation provides the ideal environment for the typical global segmentation strategy of MG performed narration which is a strategy of discontinuity heavily relying on rapid and salient perspectival shifts both in spatiotemporal and in person deixis.

As the wide spectrum of the data showed, the saturation level of HP and CD or in other words the performed storytelling mode in MG is nourished in spontaneous and relaxed narrative transactions among adults. By contrast, in adult-child storytelling situations, it is as a rule missing or only partially simulated and adapted (see §6.6.4). Departures from it are numerous intermediate schemes varying in the degree of the co-operation of the two devices and the extent of their use and ranging from rapid switches to occurrence at the climactic part. On the whole, if the oral data were mapped out in a continuum of HP-CD orchestration SC would be placed towards the pole of least (co)-occurrence, that is, of least performed stories, and SA would be

placed in the opposite pole. There is an overwhelming difference between SA and SC and a secondary difference between more naturally occurring data (intraconversational spontaneous storytelling) in the case of the free corpus and less spontaneous data as in the case of the basic corpus. More spontaneous data tend to make the utmost use of the saturation-level patterning while less spontaneous data are on average less likely to capitalise on it. In our case this is not related to the interviewer's intimidating presence which is the most common criticism of controlled data, since the pre-existing intimacy and solidarity with the storytellers was catered for by the research design; it is rather an inevitability deriving from the multiplicity of the "real-world" functions which spontaneous storytelling serves in naturalistic settings. However it has to be underlined that this secondary difference, as shown by the discussion so far, does not skew or cancel the primary and much more obvious difference which is the product of audience considerations.

To concretise the differences suggested above, the average number of stanzas which owe their internal make-up to one or both of the devices in various forms of occurrence and in various combinations (e.g. HP-CD, CD-HP, HP and/or CD and Background/Evaluative etc Commentary and/or Past Action in whichever order) was calculated for each case of storytelling. The results accurately reflect the situation in the data: 62.9% and 40.6% of the total number of stanzas of FSA and BSA as opposed to only 14.4% and 8.3% in FSC and BSC are made up of one of the above combinations (see table 24 below). Additionally, the stanza-formative pattern of HP followed by CD is favoured more in SA than in SC.

This pervasiveness of the HP-CD patterning in the data is to an extent incongruent with the idea put forth in the literature (see in particular Ess-Dykema 1984) about the "one- third of the verbs" restriction for the HP to be evaluative (see §6.5.1) which in a way points to a confined and compartmentalised use of the HP. Obviously this claim derives from a contextual definition of evaluation but it is arbitrary as to what is treated as the contextual norm. The argument put forward here is that the saturation-level of the HP and CD use is the most powerful unfolding and evaluative mechanism

	BSA	BSC	FSA	FSC
HP	9	0.7	5.4	0.3
CD	12	1.3	14.7	2.6
HP+CD	13	0.7	20.5	1.6
HP/CD + Or/Eval/Res	6.6	5.6	22.3	9.9

Table 24: Mean Percentages of Stanza-Patterns of HP and CD alone and in Combination with Orientation (Or)/Evaluation (Eval)/Resolution (Res)

in MG stories and that its evaluative force is not and cannot be cancelled by the number of the HP verbs with respect to the total event verbs of the text, because it does not necessarily lie there. What underlies its impact on both organisational and evaluation components of a story is the alternation between action and speech/thought, or, in more abstract terms, the distinction between "doing" and "saying", which seems to be the basic philosophical distinction underlying the world-making of MG narration. Thus, wherever action forms the local norm of a narrative segment speech impinges on it and interrupts it and the other way round, so that the two together plot the storyline against what is non-storyline or non-foregrounded in the storyline.

6.6.4 Literate Patterns of Use and the Lack of the Saturation-Level

So far in this thesis, SC have been found to present a literate strategy in terms of their unfolding and evaluative choices as their striking affinities with the written stories have suggested. This overall finding is also in operation in the case of the HP and CD. As shown in §6.5, the first affinities to be noticed between the SC and the written stories emerged at the level of the devices' binding function. However, the most compelling exponents of the literate strategy come into play with regard to their unfolding and evaluative patterns. SC as a rule fail to reach the saturation level of the orchestration of the HP and CD which has been projected as the performed mode *par*

excellence of MG storytelling. The same lack of a systematic and forceful patterning interwoven by the HP and CD is met in written stories as well. There too, their use and co-operation is much more restricted and less rich in organisational and evaluative effects compared to SA. Thus, the contexts of their occurrence as a rule involve confined uses either in the climactic part or outside it in the form of rapid switches for the demarcation of salient narrative turns: e.g.

(107) ... *o babas mu elipe sto ghrafio tu ke sto spiti itan mono i mitera mu ke o mikros mu adherfos* (end of the orientation section)

... my dad was in his office and only my mum and my younger brother were at home (end of the orientation section)

(onset of CA) *Kapia stighmi htipise to tilefono/ to sikose o adherfos mu/ ke se ligho ton akusa na fonazi:/ "Mama kati epathe o babas"/...*

(onset of CA) At some point the telephone rang/ my brother picked it up/ and a bit later than that I heard him shout:/ "Mum something has happened to dad"/...

Achilleas S., WSC

The above extract is a typical instance of shifts to CD which mark a turn in the course of narrative reminiscent of Aristotle's "*peripeteia*". These exhibit a high predictability in terms of their function and content in that they mostly encode stereotypical announcements in particular made over the phone:

(108) *To telefonima itan sidomo./ Ta loghia strifoghirizan sto zalismeno mialo mu horis na boro na ta dhehto:/ "O xadherfos su o Thanasis skotothike me to mihanaki;/ ton fernune sto kuti"./*

The call was short./ The words swirled in my dizzy mind without my being able to accept them:/ "Your cousin Thanasis was killed with his bike;/ he's in the coffin (lit: they "bring him in the box")

Thanasis I., WSA

The use of such climax-demarcatory shifts to CD is a frequent pattern in SC as well:

(109) ... *ke nomizo itan i thia mu ekini pu mu to protope/ ke mu lei xeris Hristina ti ghighia ti hasame/ dhiladhi pethane/...*

... and I think that it was my aunt who first told me/ and she tells me
you know Hristina we've "lost" your grandma/ in other words she died/

Hristina A., BSC

As can be noticed from the examples above, the CD use is in these cases confined, that is, it is not followed up by a pattern of HP-CD orchestration of unfolding and evaluating. On the whole, even the few instances of co-operation of the two devices in written stories and SC are not integrated into a systematic pattern of an entire global form (ie saturation level). Instead, they are as a rule confined to the climactic part. This is illustrated in the following climax from a story about a "sensational" driving experience that the narrator had as a new driver:

(110) (... *ke ehasa ghia ligho tin
prosohi mu apo to aftokinito*)

(... and I didn't pay attention for a
moment)

(onset of climax: first shift to the HP
eight stanzas after the story has begun)
*opote vlepo xafnika kapon brosta mu
na frenari/ leo edaxi aftos frenari tora/
tha frenaro ki egho/*

then I suddenly see somebody in front
of me braking/ **I say** he is braking/
I've got to brake too/

*arhisa lipon ki egho na frenaro ligho/
nomiza oti aftos tha frenare ke tha
sinehize tin poria tu/ alla aftos
kokkalose/*

so I started braking/ I thought that he
would brake for a second and then go
on/ but he pulled over/

*opote dhen to katalava egho/ eghinan
ola toso ghrighora/ dhen prolavena na
frenaro ke na stamatiso/*

so I didn't know what to do/
everything happened so fast/ I just
didn't have time to pull over/

*opote kano enan apotomo elighmo/
pernao me kokkino/ ton apofevgho ke
sinehizo/*

**so I swirl wildly/ I jump the light/
and so I avoid the collision/**

(beginning of evaluation/resolution)
*ki edaxi imun lusmenos ston idhrota/
alla sinehisa pros to nosokomio/...*

well I was sweating like hell/ but I
went on heading to the hospital/...

Thanasis I., FSC

In addition to the fact that the shifts to HP and the instance of CD above only occur in the climactic part of the story, they do not exhibit the overwhelming plotting of the HP and CD co-operation in building up the climactic stanzas that was met in SA. Instead, their role is more confined and less compelling: they act as markers which draw attention to the two "peak" points within the climax, namely the "driver's braking" and the narrator's final and efficient reaction to it by means of "swirling wildly". Evidently, such a use falls far behind from the co-occurrence of the HP and CD as powerful macroorganisational and evaluative devices which characterises the SA.

The only "literate" pattern of use unique to written stories (ie not shared by SC) is the case of the scenic HP which can extend from the story's orientation section up to the end of its CA covering both descriptive and eventive sequences. This patterning is completely unrelated to the level of saturation of the oral stories. First, there is no co-occurrence of the HP with the CD. Additionally, the HP lacks the forceful plot-forwarding quality which marks its unfolding function in its oral use, since it is mostly in the form of atelic verbs covering descriptive sequences. More importantly though, its use is completely uninterrupted: there are no shifts out of it either in the form of CD or in the form of evaluative, background and/or result lines. This deprives the scenic HP from the vital foregrounding quality of the orality action-HP which is essentially based on alternations. To illustrate this, following is an extract from a story written in the scenic HP:

(111) *(beginning of the story) Ine paramoni Hristughennon./ Fevgho apo ti Nea Iorki ghia to Torodo aeroporikos./ Hionizi apo to proi horis dhiakopes./ Ftanume sto aerodhromio tu Torodo./ Edho o keros ine pio ashimos./ Varia omihli ehi skepasi to aerodhromio/ ki o pilotos dhe bori na prosghiosi to aeroplano...*

It is Christmas Eve./ I am flying (in Greek "I fly" due to the lack of a grammaticalised distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect in the Present) from New York to Toronto./ It is snowing all morning./ We arrive at Toronto airport./ Here the weather is worse./ Heavy fog has covered the airport/ and the pilot cannot land the plane...

The story continues in the HP up to the beginning of the resolution half a page later:

Perase mia olokiri ora ghia na boresi o pilotos na prosghiosi to aeroplano/...

A whole hour passed before the pilot was able to land the plane...

Eleni K., WSA

In this example, the only achievement HP verb is "ftanume" (arrive). In effect, in such cases, the play between the accelerating orality-associated HP and the decelerating switches out of it is not part of the story's agenda regarding its plot-movement.

The above discussion demonstrated the affinity of the HP and CD use in SC with the literate uses of the devices as extracted from the written stories. On the basis of the discussion so far it is evident that this finding fits in with the whole puzzle of unfolding and evaluative devices in the data. The lack of saturation level of the "literate" use of HP and CD in SC and in written stories additionally sheds new light on the finding that both cases of storytelling also exhibit a systematic avoidance of the inter-stanza symmetrical patterning through reiteration devices. Since the patterning presupposes the orchestration of the HP and CD, the avoidance of the latter implicates its avoidance as well.

6.7 Summary

This chapter completed the analysis of binding-unfolding-evaluating in the data, by focusing on the dual function devices, namely the reiteration devices, the HP and the CD. These proved to present an intricate plotting of their unfolding and evaluating functions, thus constituting vital elements of MG narrative construction. In particular the HP and CD in co-operation were found to act as the foundation of the global performed mode of MG storytelling. To form a complete picture of the devices' functionality and of their schemes of co-operation, all the criterial features of their textual occurrence were isolated and discussed. Emphasis was placed on their patterns of use, that is, their placement with respect to the stories' macrosegmentation. In the

case of HP and CD, this brought to the fore a systematic co-operation which orchestrates the unfolding with the evaluating function. Its core form lies in the construction of the climactic part as a zone of proximity and dramatisation and, organisationally, as a *locus classicus* of a suspenseful play between acceleration and deceleration of action and between fore-front storyline and backgrounded storyline or non-storyline. From there on, the scheme was found to expand by means of stanza-formative patterns based on the two devices (normally in the form of HP followed by CD) until it reaches its saturation-level which coincides with the MG replaying narrative mode. The significance of this patterning is not only that it represents the final step towards fully uncovering the binding/unfolding and evaluative mechanisms of MG narration. It also proved to constitute the major mechanism of the stories' interactional modality or recipient-design. Specifically, it forms the most striking differentiating element of texture between SA and SC: while it functions as the predominant element of narrative construction in the former, it is systematically missing in SC. The implications of this overwhelming difference will be fully put forward and explored in ch 7.

6.8 Concluding Remarks: Interlocking Binding, Unfolding and Evaluating Strategies

The findings pertinent to the binding/unfolding and evaluating in the data (ch 4-6) suggest that the choices characteristic of each of the components can be distilled into a set of highly compatible strategies. To begin with SA, at unfolding level, they favour a strategy of macrosegmentation and discontinuity or in Levy & Neill's terms an "*anticipatory strategy*" (1992: 285), that is, a strategy which pushes the communication forward by means of salient demarcation and formation of contrast with the existing context; the main concomitant formal devices that realise these strategies are shifts to the HP and CD accompanied by participant tracking devices (ie marked referential choices, switch reference devices). On the whole, the global segmentation strategy relies on perspectival shifts: these encourage mutual sense-making between narrator and audience in that they only implicitly point to the relevance of the parts to the story's overarching theme. The same strategy

characterises the evaluating of SA, too, which shows rather than tells the story's point by means of dramatisation and performance. This is succeeded by salient alternations between HP and CD interwoven with inter-stanza symmetrical patterns. The effect of the proximal evaluative devices which constitute the major vehicles for evaluation in SA is a scene-internal viewing of the events narrated in which the addressee is invited to be a co-witness of or collaborator in the narrating act. Thus, unfolding and evaluating in SA co-operate to the same end, which is the creation of an engaging performance. The comparability of the strategies that underlie unfolding and evaluating is mainly evidenced in the case of dual function devices which instantiate an orchestrated division of labour between the two components for the construction of global coherence.

SC on the other hand exhibit a strategy of continuity, conjoinability and paratactic sequentiality at unfolding level; this is marked by the avoidance of switch reference and tense shift as demarcatory devices and by their predilection for connectivity markers and in particular temporal markers as signposts of the text's temporal strategy. Thus, their unfolding choices by contrast to those in SA can be characterised as exponents of a "*constructive strategy*" (Levy & Neill *idem*) which avoids emphasising discontinuity at demarcation points for the sake of "*feeding upon the matrix of continuous discourse connections*" (*idem*: 284).

The avoidance of salient perspectival shifts also typifies the evaluative choices in SC: the dynamic conglomeration of unfolding and evaluating instantiated by dual function devices is not opted for. By analogy, the effects of proximity and dramatisation which promote the addressee's co-witnessing are replaced by a mediated and controlled evaluation which guides the addressee's decoding of the story's point. Thus, in SC too, the unfolding and evaluating strategies are governed by very similar discursal purposes and are mutually related.

6.8.1 The "Oral" vs "Literate" Strategy of MG Storytelling

The major common denominator of the strategies regulating the unfolding and evaluating options in SC is their affinity with those of the written based model of narration which was extracted from the analysis of the written corpus. It has already been suggested that this affinity points to a "literate" strategy in operation in SC. To expand on this view, it has to be underlined that the unfolding and evaluative choices in SA and SC readily fit into the definition and features of the communicative strategies labelled in the literature as "*orality*" or "*oral-based*" and "*literacy*" or "*literacy-based*" respectively (e.g. see Gee 1985, Heath 1982, 1983, Hymes 1981, Nichols 1989, Sherzer 1987, Tannen 1982, Tedlock 1983). Despite what the terms may suggest, in this line of research, the distinction between oral and literate strategies is not treated as a rigid dichotomy which is necessarily associated with oral and written language respectively. It is rather viewed as a continuum which cuts across oral and written modes and reflects differences "*growing out of communicative goals and context*" (Tannen 1982: 18). As Gee appropriately suggested (1985: 10), shifts along the continuum of orality and literacy strategies are calibrated by context and task demands. In the area of natural narrative, the list of common features proposed as characteristic of an oral-based style involves the lack of explicit lexicalised cohesive ties, a tendency towards imageability, concreteness and negotiability of the message (involvement), and the use of "poetic devices" such as repetition schemes (see Michaels 1981, Michaels & Collins 1984, Scollon & Scollon 1981, Tannen 1980, 1982). It follows that the literate style is typified by the opposite properties.

The most influential interpretive scheme of orality-literacy narrative strategies is the distinction between *topic-centered* (or *literate-strategy*) narratives and *topic-associating* (or *orality-strategy*) narratives, which originates in Michaels (1981: 423-42) as a result of her research on the American schools' "sharing time". Classroom observation suggested that during sharing time working-class black children employ a topic-associating style of narrative as opposed to middle-class white children who adhere to the topic-centered form of narration promoted at schools. The criterial features of each of these styles are strikingly compatible with the findings about the

global segmentation and evaluative strategy of SA and SC respectively. Specifically, topic-associating narratives involve frequent shifts in (spatiotemporal or thematic) focus across segments to mark their separation and highlight discontinuity; by contrast, topic-centered narratives opt for a tightly structured discourse with a lexically explicit connective tissue and a clear thematic progression and temporal grounding (*idem*: 428). At the level of putting forth and enhancing the story's point (ie our evaluation), topic-associating narratives exploit dramatisation techniques which show rather than tell, while topic-centered narratives heavily rely on explication (429).

On the basis of the above, it is legitimate to suggest that the binding/unfolding and evaluating strategies in SA and SC are readily translatable into the distinction between orality- and literacy-strategies respectively. The extratextual implications and motivations of this difference between SA and SC will become clear in the discussion of the following chapter, which will draw all the threads of the textual analysis together into an interpretive framework of sociocultural meanings and resources.

Chapter 7

Binding/Unfolding and Evaluating as Contextualisation Cues: The Stories' Cultural Framing

7.0 Introduction

As set out in the Introduction of the thesis, the initial purpose and motivation of this research was to explore the organisational and expressive elements of MG stories in relation to their immediate context of occurrence and their wider cultural context. So far, the discussion has fully uncovered the textuality of MG storytelling studied in the light of the binding/unfolding and evaluating scheme. Additionally, it has investigated its sensitivity to the elements of the immediate storytelling situation; in particular, emphasis was placed on its *"interactional coherence"* (Schiffrin 1984: 313), that is, its *"recipient design"*, since the prime contextual variable focused upon was that of the addressee. What still remains to be done for fulfilling this work's initial purpose, namely the *"integrated"* (idem), ie contextualised, study of MG narrative discourse, is to fully interpret the textual findings reported so far and put them into perspective by looking into their wider contextual dependencies. This final step is undertaken in the present chapter which will complement the uncovering of the mechanisms of the interlocking textual systems (ie binding, unfolding and evaluating) of MG storytelling by the exploration of their cultural motivations. The chapter will thus widen the scope of the discussion by anchoring the linguistic conclusions about these mechanisms to their non-linguistic or non-textual resources, that is, their sociocultural interpretive frame. In particular, it will be shown that the stories' binding/unfolding and evaluating strategies and the perspectival choices that result from them constitute a powerful index of, and are motivated by socioculturally defined factors: these involve considerations of narrative functionality (ie purpose) and gender-shaped tellability, modes of structuring power relations, and attitudes towards literacy practices. As a result, the stories truly operate in MG culture as *"arenas for interpreting events and*

structuring talk in ways that are relevant to larger social projects" (Goodwin 1990: 142). A point which has to be clarified prior to the discussion is that looking into stories as situated and socioculturally framed events is inevitably a multifaceted problem involving the intricate interplay of various elements; the task of isolating each of these aspects is too ambitious. Thus, the attempt here is to isolate the most prominent and striking regularities abstracted from the "particularity" of each storytelling event.

7.1 Binding/Unfolding, Evaluating and Functions of Storytelling

7.1.1 Modes of Narratorial Control and Narrative Purpose

At the level of global narrative construction, the findings about the discrete strategies underlying binding/unfolding and evaluating disclosed different perspectival choices in each type of storytelling (adults-children) and by implication different modes of narratorial control. Specifically, if the data were mapped out in a continuum, SA would be placed close to the pole of mimetic discourse while SC would lie towards the diegetic pole. To begin with SA, their unfolding and evaluating choices can be summed up as exponents of an orality-based strategy which favours salient shifts across textual segments (ie in spatiotemporal and person deixis) and heavily relies on the dual function devices and their effects of proximity and involvement. This strategy underlies the creation of the replaying mode of MG narration which is mimetic, that is, shows the events and lets them speak for themselves instead of telling and explicating them. In this mode, the narratorial presence is largely effaced and the audience are invited to a scene-internal witnessing of the story. By contrast, SC exhibit a diegetic discourse based on the combination of an explicitness strategy of binding with an unfolding strategy of continuity and paratactic sequentiality; the latter propounds an explicit temporal text-strategy and avoids perspectival shifts across textual segments. Along the same lines, evaluation systematically abstains from dual function dramatic devices in favour of "second-order interpretation" devices which point to an explicating narratorial presence.

Close analysis of the contextual environment of the above perspectival choices suggested that they are largely motivated by the stories' narrative function and purpose as informed by cultural constraints that shape tellability in each of the two audiences in question. First of all, the telling of the stories was found to exhibit a great degree of regularity and predictability of functions. In other words, there is a recurrent identifiable set of functions in operation in each case of storytelling which in turn call for recurrent binding/unfolding and evaluating choices. Secondly, the by far most dominant purpose of storytelling characterises the telling of SC: this is the function of didacticism. No matter how disappointingly close to stereotyping this may be, personal storytelling for children in MG narrative contexts exhibits a compulsively didactic character, that is, acts as a teaching device. Fairy tales are no longer appropriate for 7-8 year-olds, which is the age of our addressees in the data, besides the fact that nowadays they are generally unpopular in Greece along with other traditional texts. Thus, the task of acculturating the child into the codes of morality proves to have been taken over by the narrativisation of personal experience in the shape of a moral lesson.

Interestingly though, the manifestations of didacticism in the stories' texture are not reducible to the prototypical case of constructing a narrative with a moral point explicitly expressed. Instead, they vary in terms of overtness. Cases of relatively explicit and overt didacticism account for roughly one third of the SC (both basic and free). These are typically encoded in stories with the general motto-like caveat "this is what happened to me; make sure it does not happen to you" which culminate in a moral coda. Furthermore, they foster a comparison of the type "the old good times" vs "today's life that falls short of the past" (for a more detailed discussion see §7.1.5 below). The rest of the stories are characterised by forms of subtle and covert didacticism highly reminiscent of the didacticism which is often detected in children's literature (e.g. Stephens 1992: 41) and defined as "*deliberate indoctrination or specific pedantry*" (Hunt 1988: 179). The common denominator of the forms of subtle didacticism is that they are based on the narrator's perception of his relation to the child-addressee as a power relation; as a corollary, they lurk in various modes of

narratorial control over the addressee's reception and interpretation of the text. The different degrees and shades of didacticism are ultimately accommodated to a greater or lesser extent by a diegetic and authoritative discourse; thus, they go hand in hand with the unfolding and evaluating modes identified in the SC, that is, with devices that give rise to forms of narratorial control exerted over the material related. By contrast, devices which foster an equal-to-equal relationship between narrator and addressee(s) either by sweeping the latter along through creating the illusion of reliving the events (ie proximal devices) or by inviting a mutual sense-making of the story's macro-organisation (ie technique of enhancing discontinuity) are not suitable vehicles for modes of didacticism. In fact, as has been repeatedly argued so far, these are the devices which are systematically absent from the construction of the unfolding and evaluating components of the SC. Thus, the uncovering of the didactic function sheds light on the motivations for the textual choices in SC.

By contrast to the situation in SC, in SA the common denominator of all narrative purposes is the creation of a performance and a dramatic atmosphere by means of the world-making of storytelling. This proves to be as compulsive and normative as didacticism in SC. Turning the act of narration into a performance in which the storyteller dramatically evokes and enacts the events narrated as well as sweeps the audience along, forms the general framework which subsumes more specific functions under it; it thus acts as the vehicle for their realisation (§7.1.2 - §7.1.4). The desire for creating an atmosphere of performance is largely defined by cultural attitudes according to which storytelling is a loaded and implicitly evaluative activity, bearing strong resemblance to an artistic activity, in which the skilled performer enjoys a particular social status and profile and is deeply admired. The prevailing purpose of creating performed deliveries is inextricably bound up with a mimetic narratorial mode and is thus served best by the unfolding and evaluative strategies that have been found to typify SA. Their common denominator is that they promote a relation of equality and intimacy between addresser and addressee as co-participants in the storytelling which are normally missing in SC due to the overarching function of didacticism. For instance, increasing camaraderie and a sense of "together-ness" through the process

of sharing, shaping and interpreting experiences, constitutes a primary motivation for the narration of SA while it is as a rule absent from SC. On the whole, an essential difference in function between SA and SC, springing from the compelling need for performance in the former and for didacticism in the latter, lies in the addressee's feedback: while it is crucial in SA, in SC its role is much more marginal. This is illustrated in the two commonest content-based general categories of narrative, namely humorous and sensational narratives.

Both categories are popular in SA and SC: specifically, almost half of the FSA and FSC can be characterised as humorous stories; sensational stories occupy more than one third of the free corpus (42 out of 110 FSA or 38.2%, 20 out of 60 FSC or 33.3%). However, the telling of both humorous and sensational experiences is dramatised only in SA. To begin with humorous stories, this difference is again partially due to the didacticism which frequently subverts these stories when told to children. In addition though, it is a matter of the addressee's feedback. Specifically, the telling of humorous stories functions as an "acid test" for the skilful storyteller in SA. Thus, there is a great pressure to produce a performing delivery which will elicit the right response from the audience. The same pressure does not apply to the case of children-addressees. This is attributable to the culturally defined recipientship rights and power codes regulating the addresser-addressee relations, according to which children are obliged to be more respectful to the telling of a story and withhold any dissatisfaction. Comparably, a powerful "schema" in operation in the case of SC has to do with the adult narrators' assumptions about the critical abilities of young addressees which are formalised into the rule of thumb "children are easier to please". The role of the audience feedback dramatically differentiates between SA and SC in sensational narratives; these will be discussed separately since they constitute a case of an interesting interplay between topic, function of storytelling and audience considerations.

7.1.2 Involvement vs Detachment and the Sensational Narratives

The fulfilment of the criterion of newsworthiness (unexpectedness) combined with cultural factors makes sensational narratives particularly popular both in SA and in SC. This popularity may be unexpected by the standards of cultures which avoid talking about tragedy and death, especially when addressing children. As Georges (1978: 301) claimed

to students of man familiar with first-hand stories communicated by the Greeks, the tendency for the narrators to dwell at length on the plights and fortunes of human beings is both striking and noteworthy

Georges attributed this tendency to the society's preoccupation with fatalistic concepts and its faith in the irrevocability of fate which are a major part of its cultural heritage (idem: 301-19). In view of this, sensational stories can be argued to owe their popularity in the data to their connection with central cultural beliefs and values. However, while equally popular in SA and SC, they exhibit different binding/unfolding and evaluative strategies in each case. Specifically, they are accommodated by the performing style of SA whereas they are heavily associated with a diegetic discourse in SC. This difference can be explained by their functions in SA vs SC which lead to the notions of involvement vs detachment correspondingly. To be specific, when related to adults, sensational stories normally function as a therapeutic activity and a communicative unburdening for the narrator (also see Georgakopoulou 1992d). Thus, their telling is partly a "heuristic" or "problem-solving" (Robinson 1981) activity in which the addressee's feedback is vital: the sad/tragic or irrational and unexpected event is related to be shared, explained and minimised through its telling. A structure and coherence has to be imposed on the traumatic data of the experience. Unlike what has been reported about sensational stories in other cultures¹, this narrative purpose is served best in the data by a dramatised telling

¹ For instance, Baynham (1988) reported that the stories of a group of first generation Moroccan immigrants in England involving personal troubles and misfortunes consistently exhibited a distancing narratorial mode.

rather than a detached/distancing mode. Thus, the usual dramatic devices of SA are in operation: the deliveries are climactic with rapid perspectival shifts and changes of tension, and with an intense presence of dual function devices.

By contrast, the purpose of relating such stories to children is partly an aspect of a didactic policy. Narrating about pain, suffering, illness and death is chosen as a unique way of preparing Greek children to cope with difficult real-world situations. Bettelheim (1977) claimed a similar kind of function for fairy-tales. In both cases, the context of narrative is judged to be minimally threatening compared to "real life". This preparatory and didactic function of sensational SC commonly puts on the garment of a distancing narratorial mode. In other words, it uses as its main vehicles the common unfolding and evaluating choices underlying narrative construction in SC. These involve the production of non-climactic narratives (-tension) which avoid proximal evaluative devices. The essential principle of the text-building mechanisms is to abstain from communicating a sense of proximity (ie mimesis, iconicity, involvement) between both the narrator and the events and the audience and the events. In the case of death narratives in particular, the unfolding and evaluating strategies were found to inform more specific choices which can be classified in two categories:

- a. There is a euphemisation policy (58% of the cases), that is, an obvious attempt to minimise the sad event and manage to end on a happy note so as to fulfil the didactic purpose of communicating an optimistic moral (e.g. "life goes on" or in more religious terms "the dead person is up in the sky taken by God and watches us"). Birch (1992) suggested that euphemisation based on distancing is a major discourse strategy of dealing with *uncomfortable texts*. If applied to our case, death narratives are uncomfortable stories for children and their euphemisation is a way of making them more accessible to their addressees. In a similar vein, Peterson & McCabe's work on death narratives produced by children uncovered a "*distance phenomenon*": "*children have difficulty coping with death in emotional terms, and*

suppress or deny their affective reactions to it" (1978: 305). In the data, the euphemisation policy is commonly realised through an abundance of schema-driven evaluative devices which help the recipient-designing of the narration.

- b. There is an explicitness policy (the sad event and its impact are spelled out: 42% of the cases) but the covert mitigation lies in the avoidance of involvement features and in particular of proximal devices: the event is gone, its pastness is guaranteed and it is only retrieved because we learn something from it. As a result, the evaluation component is built up in a controlled mode pointing to a narrator who has reached an interpretation and analysis of the events.

In both cases above, the main tendency is to produce non-climactic and non-involved narratives which avoid emotive reactions to the facts related or are impoverished even in terms of the facts themselves. To roughly show what the different approaches to the delivery of sensational stories for each audience can be, following are extracts from the two versions of a story told by the same narrator to both adults and children (see Appendix, ex. 1 and 2 for the whole stories). The narrator relates a death narrative from her childhood, namely her sister's death. In the first extract from the story for adults (112a below), both the use of HP and CD lend the telling drama and immediacy. By contrast extract 112b from the story for children lacks shifts in narratorial mode and footing:

(112) a. ... *fighane afti dhen ipane
tipota tin ora ekini/*

*meta tu lei i mitera mu tu patera mu/
trexe tu lei Panaghioti/ ghia na rthi o
Sotiris edho tu lei mazi me to Nikola
pai na pi oti kati ehi ghini/*

*alla horis na xerume/ ute pu pighene to
mialo mas stin Eleni/ pu etimazomaste*

... they left/ they didn't say anything at
that point/

after that my mother tells my father/
run Panaghiotis she tells him/ for
Sotiris and Nikolas to come here
something must have happened/

but without knowing exactly what/ and
we didn't think of Eleni/ cos we were

ghia ghamo/

getting ready for the marriage/

*trehi o pateras mu/ dhen boro na su
parighrapso to meros/ eghe ine sa na
ta vlepo sta matia mu tora/*

my dad runs/ I can't describe you the
exact place/ but I can still see it in
front of my eyes/

*ke tus ftani se ena orismeno simio pu
tus vlepame emis apo to spiti/ tu to
ipane/ tu to ipane amesos/*

and he reaches them at a certain point/
where we could see them from the
house/ they told him/ they told him
straight away/

*ke ghirnai o pateras sto spiti/ dhen ipe
kuveda/ katholu/*

and dad comes back home/ he didn't
say anything/ not a word/

*me piani emena apo to heri/ me travai
mesa/ ke tis lei tis manas mu i Eleni
pethane tipota allo/*

he takes me by the hand/ he pushes me
inside/ and he tells my mum Eleni
died/ nothing else/

*tora katalavenis oti mugathikame/
kanenas dhe boruse na milisi katholu/
i mana mu dhe boruse na vghali foni
katholu/*

now you understand that we lost our
voices/ nobody spoke/ not at all/ my
mum couldn't utter a word/

*klinume ta parathira mesto spiti/ me
pernun emena agalia/ me filaghane me
filaghane ke dhe milaghane ...*

we close the windows/ they take me in
their arms/ they kissed me they kissed
me and they didn't speak...

Athina H., BSA

*b. ... tha fevghe i manula mu ghia tin
Athina ghia to ghamo tis/ ghiati dhen
ipirhe siginonia ta hronia ekina/ itane
para poli dhiskola/*

... my mum would go to Athens for her
wedding/ because there was no
transportation in those years/ it was
very very difficult/

*ena fortigho ekane mia fora ti
vdhomadha to dhromologhio/ ke tha
pighene me kino/ itane meta apo dhio
tris meres pu tha efevghe/*

a lorry did the trip once a week/ and
she'd go on that one/ she'd leave two
or three days later/

*telios xafnika ki eno imastan para poli
harumeni/ irthan dhio episkeptes sto
spiti ke mas ferane tin pio dhisaresti
idhisi pu tha borusame na akusume tis
stighmes ekines/ mas ipan oti i adherfi
mu pethane telios xafnika/*

all of a sudden and while we were very
happy/ two visitors came to our house/
and they brought us the most
unpleasant news that we could have
possibly expected at that time/ they
told us that my sister died suddenly/

*sta horia sinithizame na mazevomaste
se stighmes teties dhiskoles ghia na
mirastume ton pono tu allu/ etsi ke tote
mazeftike kosmos/ allos me kafe allos
me koniak/ afta itan ta dhora tis
parighorias opos ta leghame...*

in the country we usually get together
at such difficult times to share the
pain/ so then people gathered/ some
with coffee others with brandy/ those
were the gifts of consolation as we
called them...

Athina H., BSC

As can be seen above, story 112b bases its distancing policy on a series of different choices compared to the ones in dramatised extract 112a. The actual death announcement is stripped of its dramatic impact through the choice of the indirect speech as well as of the carrier of the speech: this time it is the "two visitors" (without any other specification) rather than somebody as close to the deceased as the father. This new version of reality (distortion of truth rather, as the narrator admitted when asked afterwards) becomes the vehicle for a detaching (distancing) technique by which any descriptions of affective reactions to the tragic event or of expressions of attachment to the victim are suppressed. The detachment devices render the death announcement in story 112b opposite in effect to that in story 112a which is the result of an accumulating tension. First, an intense pre-climactic part involves the visit of the two relatives who prove unable to spell out the tragedy after suspenseful moments of wavering; subsequently, the passage to the climax is re-scheduled after their departure when in a way reminiscent of ancient tragedy the two parents begin to suspect that "something bad has happened" and the story from there on moves to its peak.

In extract 112b however, both the climactic and the post-climactic tension in the form of "results of the high point of action" (see its beginning in 112a above) are eliminated. The camera swiftly moves away from this announcement to a brief metanarratorial mode of explicating folklore habits which leads back to the storyline, having loosened the tension created by the announcement. The evaluative devices surrounding the announcement are quite different from the first version: they essentially belong to the category of lexical intensifiers, but embedded in references to characters' internal state or in externally evaluated statements (e.g. "... very happy",

"... and they brought ... at that time"); as a result, they point to a narrator who interprets a posteriori rather than a narrator who invites the addressee to co-witness the events. On the whole, extract 112b above is illustrative of the narrators' common tendency both in the basic and in the free corpus of SC to tell sensational content stories but at the same time de-sensationalise their telling by means of textual choices.

To sum up, this section argued that the difference in unfolding and evaluative strategies between SA and SC is in the case of sensational narratives motivated by the recipient-designed communicative functions and purposes of the stories' telling.

7.1.3 Anti-Examples in Stories for Children: Tellable Topics and Change of Purpose

As is normally the case in this thesis, the above discussion covered regularities rather than non exceptional cases in the data. Naturally, since each strategy of discourse is the product of the weighting of numerous conflicting decision parameters, the resolution of the conflict is unlikely to be the same on all occasions. Thus, it is not difficult to imagine that the degree of dramatisation and performance is not fixed and invariable in the two cases of storytelling, but it is the complex outcome of the interplay of contextual considerations. There are stories for children for instance in which the diegetic and didactic mode recede considerably for the sake of a more engaging delivery (also see §7.1.5). These "anti-examples" are accountable for by factors of narrative purpose as shaped by audience considerations. Specifically, they involve stories of humorous incidents which as a rule encode an experience from the narrator's childhood and deal with topics that are stereotypically suitable as topics for a story to children (e.g. various adventures with animals). Such stories act as a substitute for the activity of relating fairy-tales, by disguising their common themes and motifs in the form of personal experiences. The schema-driven choice of a topic culturally acknowledged as tellable for children and the transformation of personal narration into a communicative event with the features of an activity suitable for children (ie the narration of fairy-tales) implicate different unfolding and evaluating devices compared to what has been proposed here as the norm in SC.

To illustrate the above, following is an extract from an "anti-example" story about a pet hare and its escape from the narrator's home when the narrator was a child. The story's intertextuality with fairy tales is evident: first of all tales with animals are very popular among children. Also the hare is given the common fairy-tale characterisations such as hard to get and lover of freedom. Finally, the basic plot of the story which is the pet hare's escape from the narrator's house in a search for freedom and his death by the "bad people" who in this case are the local grocery store employees, draws on recurrent fairy-tale themes and typical motifs. The interaction of the audience-driven content/topic of the story with its evaluation component results in a dramatised telling as the following climactic part shows:

(113) ... *mia mera omos eki pu bike i
mitera mu na ton katharisi ke na tu
vali kenurghio faghito/ htipai mia stin
porta o laghos/ tin anighi me dhinami/
ke petaghetete exo/*

*fonazi i mitera mu katefthian/ trexte/
efighe o laghos/ katevenume emis kato
ke ti na dhume/ adhio to spiti tu laghu/*

*amesos arhizume na trehume/ brosta o
laghos piso emis/ brosta o laghos piso
emis/*

*o laghos ghrighora katefthinete stin
odho Mesoghion/ ton kinighame/ brosta
i mitera mu piso eghe ke pio piso i
adherfi mu...*

... one day though when my mother
went to tidy up his house and give him
new food/ the hare bounces to the
door/ opens it forcefully/ and jumps
out/

my mother shouts at once/ run the
hare's gone/ we go down and we see
that his house is empty (lit: what to
see/ empty the house of the hare)

we immediately start running/ the hare
in front us behind/ the hare in front us
behind/

the hare swiftly runs down Mesoghion
street/ we chase him/ my mother in
front me behind and my sister further
back...

Bessi F., FSC
(also see ex. 58 and Appendix, ex. 11)

As can be seen in the above example, the climactic stanzas exhibit unfolding and evaluative choices uncommon for the SC, namely the use of HP and CD corroborated by inter-stanza symmetrical patterning.

7.1.4 Male-Female "Presentation of Self" and Narrative Functionality

The interrelation of the binding/unfolding and evaluating devices with culturally dictated functions of storytelling is also powerfully illustrated in men-narrators' and women-narrators' typical stories of "conflicts"/"kodres" and "gaffes" respectively. These are densely indexical in a concrete social sense in that they mirror well-established role relations, domains of action and vocabularies of motives. However, what is most interesting about them is that, though exhibiting completely distinct functions and narratorial presentation of self, they channel their different purposes of narration through very similar textual resources (ie unfolding and evaluative strategies). Thus, they constitute classic instances of how the MG performed storytelling mode spans a whole gamut of functions and acts as their most appropriate vehicle. This will be illuminated in the following discussion.

To begin with men's typical stories of "conflicts" and "kodres", their contextual analysis suggested that their main function is that of self-foregrounding (self-aggrandisement) or other-foregrounding, the "other" being a male relative or friend. Being typically hero-centered stories, they cast the most favourable light either onto the narrator or onto a male relative or friend. To push the argument further, what is ultimately foregrounded through their telling is a set of actions, attitudes and values that are culturally sanctioned and characteristic of the male profile in Greece. These form an integral part of the network of *interdependent* relations in MG social reality (see §7.4). Thus, though if transferred to other cultures conflict stories might seem as an odd means of the narrator's self-enhancement, in the Greek context they are in accordance with cultural norms that dictate conflicts and the expression of anger as a means of proving one's virility (see Triandis & Vassiliou 1972: 299-338).

To illustrate this, following are two examples, rich in cultural "data", from the popular category of men's conflict stories that involve a figure of authority (usually a policeman). As can be seen from the second example, these stories do not necessarily depict an explicit confrontation. By contrast, they succeed in their function of

narratorial self-foregrounding through presenting the narrator's indirect actions of defiance and undermining of the figure's authority:

(114) a. The extract forms the culmination of a story about the narrator's night out with colleagues:

*petihenume tora sena bar to Lazopulo/
tris tesseris pu imastan/ e tora imastan
oli i dhiki mas/*

now we bump into Lazopoulos in a bar (Lazopoulos is a famous greek comedian)/ we were three or four people/ it was all our people **now** (they were all colleagues)/

*ihe erthi o Lazopulos me dhio tris alles
pustares/ ftusu pusti egho/ o
Lazopulos/*

Lazopoulos had come with two or three other fags/ **I (go)** piss off fag/ Lazopoulos (gesture showing Lazopoulos's embarrassment)/

*o allos ta idhia/ vrisidhi hodro/ etsi/
ghiati etihe na mas ti spai ke stus tris/*

the other guy same stuff/ a good hollering/ just like that/ because it happened that all three of us couldn't stand his guts/

efaghe ena vrisidhi/ milia/

he got a good hollering/ "not a word" (ellipsis for: "he didn't utter a word")/

evrisa enan eponimo/ ti na kanume/

well I swore at a celebrity/ what can we do/

Panos G., FSA

(114) b. The context for the story from which the following is extracted is a Christmas dinner-party in the narrator's house; the story is triggered by the guests' astonishment at the "real" Christmas tree in the living-room. Notice that in Greece there is almost no way one can legally buy a real Christmas tree and the possession of one over Christmas is considered to be a source of great pride for the family. Thus, the story relates the narrator's illegal cutting of it and his subsequent triumphant cheating of the authorities:

*... fetos eferna opos kathe hrono to
elataki mu/ ki ithela na pao ap to
Roino/ na peraso apo tin Katerini
kiolas/*

... this year I was bringing my Christmas tree as usual/ and I wanted to go through Roino (small village: the narrator's itinerary is through villages to the city because the tree was obviously cut from a forest outside the city)/ I wanted to stop by Katerini's

(Katerini is a relative)/

*mu pe omos mesa mu oti stis Davies
ine brosta afti/ ke kamia fora bori na
ne kanas aghnostos eki/ eno tus allus
tus ghnorizo olus/*

but "something inside me" (an inner voice) warned me that they (the police and the forestry people who set up a road-block to catch illegally felled Christmas trees) are at Davies/ and sometimes there are people I don't know/ while I usually know them all/ ("knowing the people" in Greece normally coincides with favouritism)/

*molis xekinisa na pao/ re **leo** pu pao/
to elato mesa sto aftokinito/*

so when I set off **I say/** Jesus where am I going/ with a Christmas tree in the car/

***ghirnao apo pano/** apo Vitina Levidhi/
ke kato kato/*

I go the other way/ from Vitina to Levidhi/ and then all the way down/

*tin alli mera pigha sto Roino/ sti thia
su/ pali apo ki ghirisame kato/ idha ki
ekane elenho o Kotsiopoulos/*

the next day I happened to go to Roino/ to your aunt (referring again to Katerini and turning to her niece which is part of his audience)/ and on the way back I took the same way/ and I saw that Kotsiopoulos was in the road-block/

***pap** stamatao ki **egho/** kateveno kato/
tu leo na anixo to port pagaz na dhis
tu leo/ na mu kanis ki emena elenho/*

"**pap**" (onomatopoeia) **I stop too/ I get off the car/ I tell him** do you want me to open the boot for you to check it/

*ti les re **mu lei/ esena/ me** prosvallis/
ohi fighe/ ela tu legha **egho/***

what are you talking about **he says/** checking you (emphatic) out (lit: ellipsis of the verb)/ **you are insulting me/ go away/ no please do I was going/ go away/**

(he he)

(he he)

***leo ki** **egho** eprepe na isuna htes
edho...*

and I say to myself you should have been here yesterday ("yesterday" was the day when the narrator illegally carried the tree)

Liakos A., FSA

In both stories above the narrator's self-foregrounding is succeeded through humiliating either explicitly or insidiously somebody perceived as powerful. The substratum of cultural values by which this is realised encompasses the traditional ideals of fun and pride *"out of violating regulations if the fear of punishment is not too great"* (Triandis & Vassiliou 1972: 304) and out of outweighing celebrities; these values are again traceable to the network of interdependent relations (see §7.4). Furthermore, they are so vital and central in the culture that the stories' tellability hardly needs to be stated or pointed out to the audience. The narrator's self-enhancement is largely carried by both stories' ability to trigger their cultural interpretive context. The culmination of the first story *"well I swore at a celebrity"* is more than eloquent to members of the culture in terms of the load and significance of the particular action. No references to emotive reactions or motives need to accompany this phrase. As for the second story, it exhibits a quite typical ending at the high point with an instance of CD.

As can be detected from the above examples as well as from **example 7** in §2.3.3.2, conflict stories and "kodres" fulfil their function by means of performed deliveries which rely on the orchestration of the main dual function devices that characterise MG involving storytelling, namely the HP and CD (bold in 114a,b above). This means that the stories' CAs are built by segments of action and speech in the HP which form the frame for reiteration patterns. In this way, their macro-organisation is made up of a pairing of dramatised verbal and non-verbal confrontations reminiscent of the pattern of the Homeric duels. At the same time, it exploits the unfolding power of participant tracking devices in order to enhance its sense of rapid perspectival shifting. On the other hand, the evaluative component also depends on the dramatic impact of the HP and CD and their occasional corroboration by other proximal evaluatives such as na-constructions and deictics (see example 7). Ellipsis (underlined) plays an important role as well. The co-operation of these devices aims at creating a sense of immediacy and at sweeping the audience along into the taleworld instead of explicitly stating its point which is in any case largely evident by the stories' strong allusions to cultural values.

The channelling of the function of self/other-foregrounding as well as the confirmation of deeply rooted cultural attitudes through the involving mode of MG storytelling is not exclusive to conflict stories and *kodres*. Instead, it characterises the textuality of all men's stories whose major narrative purpose is the projection of traditionally admirable male qualities by means of the narratorial self- or other-foregrounding. These qualities are part of the cultural heritage of Greece and are normally associated with the notions of bravery (*pallikaria/levedia*), honour (*timi*), *filotimo* and "*magia*"². All these concepts encode the traditionally Greek tendency to indivisibly interlock "*material concerns with concerns about honour (timi), bravery (pallikaria) and generosity (filotimo)*" thus "*integrating economic, social and emotional investment*" (Doumanis 1983: 28). When forming the cultural resources of the stories at hand, they lack explicit encoding but lurk in the unfolding and evaluative devices of the performed mode of storytelling. This provides further evidence for the "secret agenda" of the pairing of the textual and cultural resources in SA which informs a mimetic and dramatic mode instead of a didactic and diegetic discourse as in SC. This is also the case in the following two very short and "snappy", yet culturally very loaded, one-episode men's stories; both stories make up for their elliptical mode by the abundance in allusions to shared cultural assumptions and attitudes:

(115) a. *egho stin Patra sena
estiatorio/ eki pu etrogha sto estiatorio/
afina ena purbuar sekino ton tipo/*

I[egho] in Patra (name of a town near Athens) in a restaurant/ I used to eat in this restaurant/ and I used to leave a good tip to ((this guy))/ (probably the waiter or even the shop's owner)

*mia mera eki pu pighena na pliroso me
kovi kala kala/ mu lei re file se vlepo
toson kero ke ti vghazis me bira/
krasaki re pedhi mu krasaki tu theu/*

one day as I was paying the bill **he looks at me** like that/ **he tells me** what's gotten into you with beer beer beer/ why not have some wine (lit: little wine god's little wine) for a change/

² Both notions are highly culture-specific and impossible to accurately translate into English (see Triandis & Vassiliou 1972: 305). *Filotimo* can be conventionally rendered as generosity; *magia* covers a set of qualities characteristic of what is defined in Greece as a "brave/cool/generous man".

*tu leo ime dhiskolos eghe/ dhen pino
oti ki oti/ bira omos dhosmu oti thes/*

*mu lei katse na su fero ena krasaki
eghe mu lei na me thimase/ tha se
ftiexo eghe mu lei/ piesto ke pesmu/*

*mu feni ena bukali/ alla dhe sigratisa
ti bukali itane/ trellathika na pume/
milame ghia krasa/*

*mu to feni eki pera/ to dhokimazo/
afto itane/ epatha plaka/*

*dhe thimame ti bukali itane/ mu to fere
eki pera/ stin Patra/ tu afina kati eghe
eki pera/*

po po po/ milame ghia krasa...

I tell him I'm a bit choosy/ I wouldn't
have any wine/ but I don't mind beers/

he tells me let me bring you a "little"
wine and you won't forget me/ I[eghe]
will make your day he tells me/ drink
it and then tell me (what you think of
it)/

he brings me a bottle/ but I didn't
keep its name or anything/ I got crazy
you know/ we are talking about the
(emphatic) wine/

he brings it over there/ I taste it/ that's
it I got crazy you know/

I don't remember what it was/ he
brought it over there/ in Patra/ I[eghe]
used to leave him a tip you know/

wow (tripartite onomatopoeia "po po
po" suggesting pleasant surprise)/ we're
talking about the wine/

Thomas H., FSA

*b. irthane se mia fasi semas kato kati
Agli/ itane kana pedari atoma/*

*ke tora mas vriskune se mia katastasi
emas opu ehume orghanosi trapezi/ ta
pirunia tiga eki sena trapezi/ ta
brizolika ta kreata/*

*tus leo eghe/ mi mas pernane edho leo
i anthropi/ na tus valume mia brizola
na fane/ xeftila ine/*

at some point some English people
came down to us ("down" refers to
Crete where the narrator works and "to
us" refers to his colleagues)/ they were
around five people/

and now they land on us having set
the tables for lunch (the colleagues had
organised a lunch party)/ heaps of
cutlery at the tables there/ steaks
meats/

I tell them (his colleagues)/ we don't
want the people getting the wrong
ideas about us (ie about our
generosity)/ let's serve them some
steaks/ it's a shame (not to)/

*ne re **lene** kala les/ malakia lene/ na
tus valume/*

*kitaxte **tus leo/ elate na fame/ ehume**
mia sigedrosula/ kathe Paraskevi
sinithizume na kanume tetia/*

*xeris dropali stin arhi/ meta apo dheka
lepta agalies filia bires heineken/ tifla
tifla/*

mehri to allo vradhi kimodusan/

they tell me yeah you're right/ it's a
real pity/ we shall serve them/

I tell them (the English) look/ why
don't you join us/ we have a bit of a
gathering/ we do have one on Fridays/

at the beginning (ell: they were) shy
you know/ ten minutes later hugs
cuddles and Heineken beers/ pissed
completely pissed/

they were in bed after that for a whole
day/

Tonis G., FSA

Both stories ultimately tell a tale of "filotimia". In the first case the narrator's self-enhancement lies in his ability to be "filotimos" (generous, likeable) which is returned by "filotimia". The notion is not explicitly mentioned but lurks beneath the events narrated: the narrator regularly leaves a tip to the waiter (indication of "filotimia" in Greece rather than a social obligation). This is sufficiently stressed both through its repetition and the emphatic reference accompanying the act (egho-reference). Subsequently, the waiter returns the favour by serving him the best wine of the shop. This favouritism is a cultural value in itself (one's ability to make acquaintances who do one favours); here it is combined with the value attributed to the expertise at discovering good wine. In fact, the story was triggered as a response to one of the male participants of the conversational encounter who claimed that he is an expert at wine. In story 115b the narrator's enhancement of his "filotimia" is set in motion by his suggestion to his colleagues to treat the foreign guests hospitably which essentially is a reminder to their cultural duties. The projection of the most traditional and widely acclaimed Greek value of hospitality towards "foreigners" make his "filotimia" all the more notable. What is essential in both stories is that in order to build up their tales of "filotimia" they draw on the same textual resources, namely the devices of the involving mode of MG storytelling: evaluatively and organisationally they revolve around instances of HP and CD (bolded in the texts) intensified by both intra- and inter-stanza reiteration devices (underlined). The patterning of HP and CD makes up

for the lack of any explicit transitions from one segment to the other and for the overall elliptical mode of the stories. Additional links and connections are provided by the stories' rich allusions to cultural values and attitudes. This orchestration of the norms of dramatisation governing MG narration with the corpus of socioculturally sanctioned values underlie the communicative efficiency of such stories: they are brief and often occur in intraconversational contexts as asides, constituting popular mini-performances.

In women's stories, the promotion and confirmation of cultural values and attitudes, such as the ones discussed above, is as a rule succeeded by means of stories which exhibit an other-foregrounding, that is, project these values through a male person, mostly a relative. Thus, by contrast to men's stories, women's stories only rarely manifest a self-enhancing function. As discussed in §2.3.3.2, the typical category of women's stories is that of "gaffes" which present a completely different functionality and presentation of self compared to men's stories. Specifically, they can be summed up as stories of self-exposure and vulnerability. Fear stories for instance, which are an inconceivable category of narrative among men, are a genuine representative of the tendency of female narrators to dwell on their vulnerability through underscoring emotions of insecurity and helplessness. On the whole, "gaffe" stories turn on cultural values which the narrator failed to observe. For instance, **in example 8** (§2.3.3.2) of a gaffe story, the cultural constraint unintentionally violated by the narrator is that of fasting. This violation essentially underlies the story's tellability. However, the story's function is realised by means of the same binding/unfolding and evaluating devices as in "conflicts" and "kodres": proximal devices in co-operation with reiteration patterns (e.g. notice the systematic repetition of the phrase **I was eating "little" bread and "little" cheese** which encapsulates the sinful act) underlie the story's performed character. Instances of CD are also as important as in "kodres", but this time they serve the exposure of the narrator's gaffe instead of her self-foregrounding. Finally, as is typical of SA, the story's unfolding exhibits the strategy of salient perspectival shifts mainly put forward by the dual function and participant tracking devices. Thus, example 8 illustrates what was suggested at the beginning of this section, namely that

typical men's and women's stories present similar textual choices (binding/unfolding, evaluating) despite the fact that they fulfil different functions; the reinforcement of the different role-models for male and female correspondingly is in both cases channelled through a performed mode of narration. Thus, unlike what has often been suggested in the literature (e.g. Silberstein 1982: 163ff, Johnstone 1990: 56ff) about the use of specific narrative devices associated with each gender, in the data these differences are generally absent (see §5.3 for statistical confirmation). The global mode of narrative performance, by encompassing quite different functions in stories among adults, proves that its tested ability to involve the audience has endowed it with such a normative power that it constitutes the all-embracing aim of everyday storytelling.

7.1.5 The Presentation of Self and the Child-Narrator

Most of the gender-based differences in function and purpose discussed above are eliminated in the case of storytelling to children in which adult narrators, both male and female, channel their presentation of self through the persona of the "child-character", which is an integral part of the stories' "childhood theme" (see §2.3.3.3). However, this self-presentation does not employ the dramatisation mode as its main vehicle. As a rule it contributes to the didactic and diegetic discourse characteristic of SC. The first major indication of this resides in the common device of the I-narrator's explicit references to his distance from the I-character using statements of the kind: "*pedhi imuna tote*" (I was a child then), "*dhen ixera/dhen katalavena tote*" (I didn't know/ I didn't understand then) etc. These are means for stressing a. the adult narrator's perspective when looking back at the time of the childhood experience and b. the distance and even discrepancy between the I-narrator and the I-character. At the same time, they subvert the creation of a sense of immediacy and proximity between the taleworld and the storytelling situation, which is an indispensable element of the performed mode of narration. In terms of narrating purposes, the device of the child-character becomes the vehicle for two quite distinct functions: for putting forward the contrast between the old times and the present times or for sanctioning codes of conduct through the child-characters' "mistakes". As a rule, the first function for obvious reasons applies to the storytelling of the middle-aged group, who normally

draw on their experiences as children during the harsh years of the world-war followed by the Greek civil war and the adverse post-war period. The second function is in accordance with Heath's (1983: 186) finding about adult storytelling to children, according to which adults rarely tell stories focusing on their own behaviour in front of their children except for when they tell of their own childhood in order to carry the message "do not do what I did". Presumably on the grounds of avoiding self-exposure, in certain cases narrators choose to realise this function by means of focusing on the deeds of a character other than themselves who is at a young age (i.e. 5 out of the 60 FSC, that is, 8.3%, 8 out of 40 WSC, that is, 20%); the possible plots here range from the narrator being completely unrelated to the character and only having witnessed his "misdemeanour" to the character being the narrator's relative or child. In this case too, the content is as a rule sensational and involves accidents that are narrated for didactic purposes; the aim is to warn the child-addressee against the carelessness which is projected as the cause of the acts and events narrated.

The common denominator of the above functions is that they contribute to the texts' didacticism. Their accompanying narratorial tone can be summarised as the "*voice of experience*" (see McCabe et al 1991: 155) talking about the lessons that have been learnt. The events narrated are thus communicated as being clearly part of the past which is retrieved for didactic purposes and is kept distinctly apart from the immediate storytelling situation. The above goes hand in hand with distancing narratorial techniques and with the controlled and diegetic discourse that results from the common binding/unfolding and evaluating devices of SC. The following extract from a story about the narrator's accidental firing of her father's gun when she was a child exemplifies the narratorial stance of the reprimanding adult-narrator (ie principal) looking at the young and inexperienced I-character (experiencing self, figure) from a distance and didactically projecting the latter's deeds:

(116) ... *egho horis na rotiso pigha na dho apo koda to oplo ke na to piaso sto heri mu/ dhen ixera omos oti dhen eprepe na patiso ti skandhali/ ki otan*

... and I without asking first went to look closely at the shotgun and touch it/ but I didn't know that I shouldn't pull the trigger/ and when I did I heard

*tin patisa akusa ena dhinato kroto/ ki
idha tis katsaroles tis kuzinas na
ghemizun tripes/*

a loud noise/ and I saw the saucepans
being full of holes/

*fisika **thimame** oti fovithika/ alla
fovithika pio poli otan idha ti mitera
mu na fonazi ke tin adherfi mu na klei/
ghiati ta skaghia ihan katastrepsi tin
kukla tis/*

of course **I remember** that I was dead
scared/ and I was even more scared
when I saw my mother shouting and
my sister crying/ 'cos the pellets had
destroyed her doll/

*akoma **thimame** ton patera mu
aghriemeno na me kitai/ ke na ine
etimos na me varesi/ ghiati iha kani
kati pu eprepe na ton rotiso/ alla ke
ghiati ihan kindhinepsi na skotothun oli
osi vriskodan sto spiti/*

I also remember my dad looking at
me furiously/ and being on the verge
of hitting me/ because I did something
that I shouldn't have before asking
him/ and my family had been in danger
because of me/

*apo tote kathe fora pu vlepo ton patera
mu na pigheni ghia kinighi/ **thimame**
oti para ligho me mia mu aperiskepsia
na ha skotosi oli tin ikoghenia mu/*

since then every time I see my father
going hunting **I remember** how I
almost killed my whole family at a
moment of foolishness/

Stella A., BSC

As can be noticed, the adult narrative discourse and the expression of the narrator's current world-view in relation to the experience are corroborated by the repetition of "*thimame*: I-remember" introducer (see McCabe et al 1991: 164). The example instantiates the second function of presenting moral lessons through the child-character's misconduct or mistakes.

In the stories in which the didactic function is realised by means of setting up the contrast between the "then" of the old times and now, the I-character is internally focalised and empathised more by the I-narrator. The texts do not project the image of a naughty child to the extratextual child-addressee as in the above example, but that of a "little" hero who copes with the adversities of "the old times" with wit, maturity and responsibility; any mistakes and gaffes are forgiven as the result of the general hardship and deprivation which justified the child's "knowing no better". The didactic essence of this choice lies in that it sets up an implicit or explicit comparison with

today's "spoilt" children who "despite the fact that they have everything they want to" frequently misbehave. Thus, the addressee is invited to appreciate the privilege of living in today's world and is reminded of his duties towards it. To make the above more concrete, following are two short stories whose didactic function is based on the contrast between the old times and the present:

(117) a. *na sas po eghe otan imuna
mikros/ milame ghia to penida pede/
ihane feri ena fortoma alevri apo to
milo/ neromilos/*

*pinaghe o kosmos/ tora ti na les/ ki
eghe opos anixane to alevri/ dhen
perimena na ftiaxune kati hilo xero
gho/*

*lipon vutao me ti muri/ eep ke
honome olos/ dhe borusa na to salioso
olo/ ki ekana [gesture]/*

(he he)

*i adherfi mu itane brosta/ itane
apoghevma/ ke kaname ke to
apoghevma sto sholio to dhimotiko/*

*lipon i adherfi mu nomize i meghali oti
ithele nero na vrexhi/ ke tap mu rihne
nero/ tap nero/*

*ti kanis/ mepnixes/ mepnixes
panathema se/*

(he he)

ithela me ti hufta na fao to alevri/

let me tell you about when I was a
child/ we're talking about fifty-five
now/ they'd brought a load of flour
from the mill/ it was a water-mill/

people were hungry then/ what else can
I say now/ and so as we opened the
flour/ I couldn't wait until they made
something out of it some kind of cream
you know or whatever/

so I dive in head first/ "eep" and I
am immersed/ and I couldn't swallow
it/ and I was going (gesture: showing
the attempt to swallow the flour)/

(he he)

my sister was there/ it was sometime in
the afternoon/ and we had school in the
afternoon too then/

well my sister - my older sister thought
that all it needed to swallow was
water/ and "tap" she would give me
water/

(ellipsis: I say) what are you doing/
are you trying to kill me/ damn you
are you trying to kill me/ (imitating
the voice of somebody who is
choking)/

(he he)

I wanted to eat the flour by the handful
that's why/

pinaghe o kosmos/ pinaghe/

people were hungry then/ they were hungry/

Hristos H., FSC

As can be seen, the episode is delivered on a humorous note which mitigates the child-character's gaffe. The didactic purpose of the story is set at both the initial and final framing of the story which clearly refer to the "famine" of the time.

*b. na su po eghe ti epatha dhekatrion
hronon/ pighena me to mulari ta dhio
mularia sto perivoli/*

...let me tell you what happened to me
when I was thirteen/ I was going to the
farm with the mule the two mules/

*ke vghenodas eki pros to dhiaselo/
anevika senan ohtako na kavalliso ton
Kokkini/ sena iperipsoma/*

and as I was going to what we called
dhiaselo/ I jumped up a little rise in
order to mount "Kokkinis" (name of
the horse)/ it was somehow like a rise
there/

*opote dhino eghe ena pidhima ghero/
ke ghlistao ap to samari pano/ ke pefto
duuvv/*

so I take a good leap/ and slip off the
saddle/ and I **fall "duuvv"/**

*pefto apo ki piso/ ki imun ki etsi
eftrafes/ ke pap kato/*

I fall off the horse/ I was a bit chubby
as well/ **and so "pap" I fall down/**

*sikonome ghrighora ghrighora/
ponaghane tuta ola edho/ dhen kitaza
tus ponus pu iha/ kano etsi ghiro na
dho mi me idhe kanenas ke dropiasto/*

I get up immediately (lit: quickly
quickly)/ **all this (gesture)** hurt so
much/ but instead of trying to relax the
pain I was looking around to see if
somebody had seen me making a fool
of myself/

*ke pao pio pera/ aneveno se mia
madra ke xanakavallao/ ke tuta dho
ihane ghini mavra edho piso (gesture)/*

and I go a bit further down/ **I jump
up** another rise and mount again/ and
**all this part here on my back
(gesture)** was blue/

*dhen kitaza tus ponus/ eghe kitaza na
dho mipos me idhe kanenas ke ghelasi/*

but I stood the pain/ my only worry
was if somebody had seen me make a
fool of myself/

Maria B., FSC

The story is indicative of the heroic dimension that the child-character is frequently endowed with. In this case, despite the fact that the experience narrated refers to a universal truth (ie social pain and embarrassment are often less bearable than physical pain), the narrator presents it as exclusive to her childhood and furthermore to "the old times". Thus, the message lurking has to do again with "the old times" vs "nowadays" contrast in terms of moral values and attitudes. Interestingly, both stories above present a dramatic make-up, as evidenced by the use of devices such as the HP and CD, gestures and onomatopoeia (bolded). This choice which is occasionally met in SC that set up a contrast between the old times and the new times adds to the cases discussed in §7.1.3; they both form the picture of exceptions in SC as regards dramatised tellings. However, despite opting for a mode that is not shared by the majority of SC, these stories do not cease to subscribe to the major narrative purpose of the "childhood-theme" in SC, namely didacticism.

7.2 Power Relations or the Panopticon of Modern Greek Storytelling

The main points of the discussion so far can be incorporated and thus further illuminated within a framework of power relations. The clearest discovery here pertains to the specific binding/unfolding and evaluating choices of the SC. These have brought to the fore an asymmetrical type of narrative transaction between adult-addresser and child-addressee which is mainly governed by the various elements of didacticism and narratorial control that characterise the textuality of SC. In other words, the perspectival choices embodied in the discrete binding/unfolding and evaluating strategies of SC point to a scheme of a power relation between adults and children in storytelling contexts.

This power differential can be aligned with Ochs's and Taylor's (1992) application of Foucault's notion of "*panopticon*" (1979, 80 quoted in idem: 329), as a valuable analytical tool that casts new light on the instantiation of social relations by and within narrative activity. The panopticon notion refers to

a type of institutional architecture -as exemplified in prison architecture- in which spaces are partitioned in such a way as to both confine inhabitants and expose them to surveillance from a central watch tower

idem

Ochs & Taylor (idem) suggested that stories *"in a panopticon-like manner... discursively arrange protagonists and interlocutors in relationships of power"* (330). In their data of dinnertime family storytelling, the panopticon role was found to be assumed by fathers. By analogy, in the data at hand the contextualisation of the unfolding and evaluative choices of the SC lent itself to a panopticon-type interpretive frame in which adult narrators act as the all-seeing eye of power and the ultimate control position of the narrating activity vis-a-vis their young addressees. This finding is in line with the well-documented view of the anthropological analysis that *"universally the adult generation is superordinate over children"* (Hirschon 1992: 36). The prevailing view is thus that *"the power differential is an inherent and integral part of adult-child relationships in most cultures"* (idem) and that its culture-specificity lies in *"how power is actually exercised in this particular set of adult-child"* (idem).

In the light of the above, the adult-panopticon of SC provides cultural evidence about the realisation of the power-dimension ordering adult-child relationships in Greece. Specifically, it suggests that storytelling activities function among others as opportunities for affirming and perpetuating the adult-child code of power relations. The finding can be aligned with Hirschon's (idem: 35-56) results of ethnographic analysis in Greece according to which the exercising of the adult power over children is mostly in the form of verbal rather than non-verbal action: in particular it is encoded in speech acts such as promises, threats and lies and in false stories or fantasies. The adult-child power relations constitute by far the most prominent and straightforward instance of a panopticon-like cultural framing of narrative construction in the data. However, they do not capture the stories' whole range of discursive arrangements of power. Another panopticon-like power relation operating mostly at

the level of the situational context of SA has to do with initiation rights, entitlement and narrative functions. From the discussion in chapter 2 and in this chapter it follows that this power arrangement involves the "male" panopticon of MG storytelling. Its difference from the adult-child power code is that it does not set in motion devices by which the extratextual power differential is encoded and mirrored in binding/unfolding and evaluative choices as in the case of didacticism in SC. Additionally, since the issues of presentation of self and narrative purpose prove to be altogether different in SC compared to SA, the "male" panopticon completely fades in the former where the adult-child code of power-relation takes over. While power-relations have been found in operation at various levels of narrative construction so far, in particular in SC, a *locus classicus* of their textual grounding is that of CD instances, examined in the light of "who speaks to whom and for what purpose". These will be discussed below.

7.2.1 Intratextual Voices or "Who Speaks to Whom and for What Purpose"

Silverstein, reporting his findings about Chinookan narrative, put forward the view that

speaking in narrative is an action continuing or following upon the establishment of specific social relations between speakers and hearer, and hence with constrained functional effect brings the characters involved into some culturally understood relationships

1985: 167

The above was confirmed by the CD instances in the data which proved to act as contextualisation cues for power relations and social roles. Specifically, they consolidated the findings about the two panopticon-like arrangements of power relations reported above, namely the adult-child power code and the male panopticon. The status of males and adults as authority figures in SA and SC respectively is first reflected in the "who speaks" of the CD instances. As men initiate most of the storytelling interactions in the data, they by analogy initiate most of the CD instances in SA. It suffices to say that only 7 of the 68 men's stories of the free corpus break the rule of male-male interaction in dialogues. Women's stories encode male-female interaction, but surprisingly not female-female interaction: only 3 out of the 42 stories

of the free corpus exhibit instances of non-mixed dialogues. Additionally, in male-female interactions both in men's and in women's stories, the male character is essentially presented as controlling the interaction and manipulating its direction: the common Greek saying "*o adras ehi ton telefteo logho*" ("the man has the last word") nicely sums up the situation and is also borne out by the fact that men's speech to women is frequently greeted with silence by the latter: e.g.

(118) From a story about a doctor's hunting of a "placement" for doing her "compulsory medical service" in the province:

tu leo tu Taki/ ti thelis/ kanena/ kanena apo ta dhio/ tu leo prepi na dhiloso kati/ apofasise i to ena i to allo/ dhen... kanena/ kanena/

(asking her partner) **I tell Takis/ which one (of the placements offered to her) do you want/** (ellipsis of he says) **none/ neither one/** I tell him but I have to choose one/ what do you think/ **no none of them/ none of them/**

Bessi F., FSA

As can be seen, the narrator greets her partner's suggestion with silence and abides by it; then she goes on to tell how she finally got another placement.

As is generally the case with the textual encodings of the adult-child power relation, its realisation in speech presentation is also remarkable. 80% of the instances of CD in oral stories and 95% in written stories encode an adult's speech (mostly addressed to a child). In these cases, adults assume the role of an "authority figure" who whether as teacher, parent, relative, or neighbour advises, warns, instructs and reprimands the child-addressee who remains silent in all cases (hence the lack of dialogues in stories for children):

(119) a. *afti mu ipe/ ma dhe drepese meghalo pedhi na fovase/ mazepse ta adherfakia su ki opu na ne i ghonis su tha erthun/ ki an arghisun thelo na katsete fronima sto spiti/ akus/*

she (the neighbour) told me/ aren't you ashamed of being afraid/ put your little brothers in order and your parents will be here any minute/

and if they are late make sure you behave yourselves/ did you hear
what I said/

Fotini B., FSC

*b. ke na mas lei i mana mu/ ke ghiati dhen ihate sholio/ ke mipos in
ehete kopanisi/ ke ghiati tin kopanisate/ ke na mu kani mm tha ta pume
otan tha fighi o Kostas/*

and my mother was telling us/ and why were there no classes today/
and have you played hookey/ and why did you do this/ and she was
going "mm" you haven't heard the last of me/ wait till Kostas leaves/

Hariklia A., FSC

*c. i ghiaghia mu itan oghdhoda hronon/ kataspra mallia/ ritidhiasmeni/
ta matia tis vathulomena/ eleghe/ papste vre/ mi fonazete/ dhen akute
exo ti ghinete/ pos ehi halasi o keros/...*

my grandmother was eighty years old/ white hair/ wrinkled/ full of eye
wrinkles/ she was saying/ shut up/ stop being a nuisance/ don't you
hear the thunder outside/ don't you see how terrible the weather is/

Fotianna G., FSC

*d. ke mu lei i ghiaghia mu pu itan xaplomeni sto krevati/ ghiati kles/
ti thelis pedhi mu/ ghiati tebeliazis ke dhe dhiavazis/*

and my grandmother who was lying in bed tells me/ why are you
crying/ what are you up to/ why are you being lazy not doing any
homework...

Dhimitra K., FSC

*e. Kateveni kato o idhioktitis/ ke kani san trellos/. Erhete ke mu lei/
ghrighora bes sto aftokinito na pame na ton vrume./ Egho amesos ton
akoluthisa horis adirrisis...*

The owner comes down/ and acts crazy./ He comes up to me and tells
me/ quick get into the car so that we can go and find him./ I
immediately followed him without any objections...

Thanasis P., WSC

The above CD instances are classic examples of the text mirroring the web of

extratextual social relations: in particular, the extratextual relation of the narrative transaction (adult-teller/child-listener) is immediately and vividly reflected in the intradiegetic (intratextual) scheme of adult-character-teller/child-character-listener. In both cases the relation between adult and child depicted is that of teller-listener.

7.3 Literacy-Based Style of Narration to Children: Personal Storytelling as an Oral Preparation for Literacy

As already suggested, the contextualisation of the stories in terms of their sociocultural resources is far from being a uni-dimensional issue. On the contrary, it operates simultaneously at different levels of dependencies onto cultural factors. As a result, the discussion in this chapter incorporates different and broad contextualisation constraints. This section widens the scope of discussion by shifting its emphasis onto the cultural connections and implications of the "literate bias" that characterises the make-up of binding/unfolding and evaluating in SC. As already shown, adults usually draw on a literate code in their narrative transactions with schoolchildren; their schema for storytelling to children is thus strongly associated with the normative school-based model of narration rather than with the everyday fully performed orality-strategy MG narration.

If viewed in the light of the orality-literacy question as shaped in MG society nowadays, the macro-social motivation for the above adjustment of discourse goals becomes clear. Heath (1983: 108) insightfully claimed that *"all peoples have their uses of literacy in the context of their societal needs"*, adding that the traditional oral-literate dichotomy does not capture the varied and complex ways in which cultural patterns in different communities affect the uses of orality- and literacy-associated language. This argument is immediately relevant to the SC which though in oral mode appear acting in certain respects as literacy events. Broadly speaking, there are two sociocultural determinants of this use:

- a. The orality-literacy question in Greece which is inextricably bound up

with the phenomenon of diglossia, otherwise known as the "*glossiko zitima*" (language question), that has tantalised the country throughout its modern history in various forms and shapes.

- b. The vital role of children's achievement and success in school in MG post-war culture which is extremely school-oriented.

To take each issue separately, orality and literacy historically exhibit an impressive symbiosis within the Greek culture in that they are both carriers of equally strong traditions (see Tannen 1980: 51-87). Their current state in relation to the "language question" can be briefly outlined as follows: Numerous educational reforms have historically accommodated the policy of different governments as regards the issue of diglossia. During the last twenty years they have been gradually establishing *Demotic Greek* (the standard spoken variety) in the educational system. This favourable policy for Demotic Greek was first initiated in 1974, after the seven year dictatorship (1967-74) which had banned Demotic Greek from schools. In 1974 though, the standard spoken variety was proclaimed the official language of the State and introduced to the educational system, thus precluding the teaching of *Katharevousa* (the purist language and tradition, for a discussion see Babinotis 1992: 115). Additionally, in an attempt to increase the emphasis on MG language and literature, the teaching of Ancient Greek was replaced in the three Gymnasium grades by the teaching of classics in translation while it continued to be taught in the first two lyceum grades. From there on, a gradual turn to communicative methods of teaching the mother tongue has been attempted as an antidote to the traditional structuralist teaching of grammar which emphasised sterile memorisation of rules and restricted itself to sentential rather than textual phenomena. Nevertheless, the situation is not free from complexities and problems; as reported by Greek linguists, this educational reform currently goes hand in hand with a revival of interest in *Katharevousa* as part of the nation's integration into the United Europe and of its

aspiration about the role that the Greek language and the great tradition may play in the evolution of the European civilisation as it

*has done in the past when it contributed to the shaping and expression
of the western (European) civilisation*

idem: 117

Frangoudaki (1992: 378) suggested that this revival of the argument questioning Demotic Greek reflects a crisis of national identity mostly prompted by the syndrome of national inferiority towards the rest of Europe; in her view, the roots of this increasingly defensive complex within the framework of the European community are to a great extent traceable to the *totem* of the glorious ancestors. Thus, the current upheaval of the value of the essayist/purist tradition can be argued to be a facet of an issue of role (re)definition emerging in the Greek society. Furthermore, it can be treated as a frame of interpretation for the finding that SC in many ways function as an oral preparation for literacy.

As already suggested, the second equally important factor in operation with respect to this finding involves the cultural attitudes towards the notion of achievement: these are crucially related to a network of cultural values such as familial prestige and in-group ties that will be discussed in §7.4. Here, it suffices to say that MG middle-class in particular exhibits a strong ethos of wanting the children to go ahead, that is, succeed in school and enter the university for getting the very much valued "piece of paper" which will serve as a passport for social mobility. Thus, the two factors above combined, namely the society's revived interest in literacy practices along with the whole set of values and attitudes towards schooling and achievement, provide the appropriate sociocultural framing of the literate-strategy governing narrative construction in SC. It follows that MG personal storytelling to children has incorporated the school-based model of narration in its repertoire of "ways of telling", with the purpose of establishing a continuity and a constancy of links between out-of-school-activities and in-school-activities in the process of children's socialisation. This particular channelling of the home-school relation through storytelling to and from children has been reported about other cultures as well (see Heath 1983: 345).

The above discussion elucidated the at first glance paradoxical finding that Greeks employ the storytelling activity as a means of consolidating the schoolchildren's literacy skills when in their everyday contexts of narrative communication they resort to an involving and performed style. This differentiated use does not cancel the power of the performing style of MG storytelling. Though sound research is required for defining its exact contexts, its overwhelming presence in everyday narrative interactions among intimates confirms its status in the culture. Additionally, independent of the particular role that storytelling primarily addressed to children has been found to assume, Greek children still have all the chances to be introduced to the mode of performed deliveries through the numerous narrative interactions among adults to which they are inevitably exposed on a daily basis as overhearers or observers (notice that tacitly observing the adult communication is a highly valued leisure activity for children in Greece); multiple other streams of communication (e.g. peer-interaction, radio, television etc) also frame these performance options.

7.4 Abstracting the Core Cultural Values: Telling the Story of an Interdependent Culture

This section ties together the contextualisation components of MG storytelling presented in this chapter, by invoking their wider frame of reference, namely what will be called here "*interdependent*" values. This represents the ultimate abstraction from the stories examined to their overall sociocultural context or *weltanschauung* that informs their textual construction and functioning. In Polanyi's framework the abstraction of the stories' cultural data as a list of values recovered by "*what was most interesting, storyworthy or compelling about the elements in [these] stories' propositions*" (1985: 2) constitutes the final step in natural narrative analysis. In her terms, these deeper cultural meanings or primitives form a "*cultural grammar*" which is a meta-analytical or meta-narrative construct in that it tells the stories' story.

The abstraction of a cultural grammar of MG storytelling from the data at hand led to a set of key-values which all realise what has been coined in the literature as "*an interdependent view of self*" (the term from Markus & Kitayama 1991: 224). The

construal of an interdependent self presupposes an *interdependent culture* which is opposed to that of an *independent culture*. The same distinction is captured by the terms "*collectivist vs individualist*" culture (Triandis 1989: 506-20, Triandis et al 1988: 1523-28). Interdependent cultures are alleged to place emphasis on attending to other people's needs, on fitting in and on showing conformity to cultural norms and conventions. Thus, they see behaviour as contingent on others and on their anticipated expectations and social norms (Markus & Kitayama 1991: 228). By contrast, independent cultures promote emphasis on the self and on attending to personal needs and desires as well as on the expression of unique inner attributes. Central to the understanding of an interdependent culture is the notion of the in-group as opposed to the out-group which does not appear to be of significance in independent cultures. Clearly, interdependent selves do not attend to the needs, desires and goals of all others. Their attention to others is selective and not indiscriminate: it is directed towards the members of the in-group formed by "*family, friends, relatives and people who are concerned with [my] welfare*" (Triandis & Vassiliou 1972: 331). Thus, the in-group relations are perceived as relations of extreme intimacy, interdetermination, respect and loyalty. Deviation from the in-group norms and affiliations is viewed as a severe betrayal and a seriously condemnable act. By contrast, the out-group is treated with suspicion and guarded hostility.

The concepts discussed above originate in the area of Social Psychology, where they have been empirically validated through a series of experiments; the results strongly suggest that generally speaking African, Latin American, Asian and southern European cultures are classifiable as interdependent as opposed to central and northern European and north American independent cultures (see Markus & Kitayama 1991: 224-53, Triandis et al 1988: 1523-38). Research on the Greek reality has reported strong interdependent values as part of a cultural heritage which goes far back and forms the substratum of a culture with tight network relations and conventions (Triandis 1989, Triandis & Vassiliou 1972, Vassiliou et al 1972). Only recently a turn to independence (individualism) has been found in the urban centres as a result of their modernisation; this is nevertheless not strong enough yet to outweigh the interdependent construal of

self deeply rooted in the culture (for a detailed discussion of the two tendencies see Doumanis 1983). At the same time, the linguistic evidence running parallel with the psychological evidence comes from the most updated sociolinguistic work in MG, namely Sifianou's research on politeness strategies (1992a), which attests to the existence of a social obligation for reciprocity among the Greeks. This alludes to one of the criterial features of interdependent cultures. Drawing on Sifianou's conclusions, Nwoye (1992: 313) recently proposed the distinction between group-oriented face and individual-oriented face, in an attempt to operationalise the notion of face. The distinction is reminiscent of the interdependent vs independent culture of psychological research.

Coming back to the data, the notion of interdependence has proved to be of immediate relevance to their contextualisation, since its definitional features form the network of values consistently evoked by the stories. It is legitimate to suggest that the interdependent values act as the interpretive context onto which the facets of narrative construction discussed in this thesis can be mapped. The whole process of the narrativisation of experience is intertwined with the in-group vs out-group conceptualisation. This is first of all reflected in the stories' content which is in one way or the other related to interdependent values. In particular, the framework of familial relations acts as the exclusive source for the storyable themes and plots emerging in the data. Additionally, the two major categories of narrative in the data, namely sensational and humorous narratives, exalt the in-group ties either by deploring the threat of their breakdown in the first case or by rejoicing at their strength in the second case. As appropriately reported about Greeks, their definition of happiness and unhappiness is inextricably bound up with the in-group (Triandis & Vassiliou 1972: 301).

Subsequently, the contextualisation factors that were discussed in this chapter as determinants of the shaping of binding/unfolding and evaluating in each case of storytelling (adults-children) are also exponents of an interdependent world-view. First of all, gender-based narrative functionality constitutes a main vehicle for encoding

interdependent values. The function of self- or other-foregrounding, prevailing in men's stories, is immediately linked to the in-group and the importance attributed to its members. Whoever is foregrounded is in one way or another foregrounded as a full member of the in-group, that is, as one of "our people". Cases of foregrounding through conflict-stories realise the in-group - out-group distinction even more powerfully. The narrators embark on conflicts with people perceived as belonging to the out-group: e.g. conflict with a figure of authority. As regards narrative function in women's stories, it is also accountable for within an interdependence framework. In general, the findings that women's stories opt more for other-foregrounding, other being a male member of the family, and that they are typified by the category of "gaffes", confirm the conclusion of the Social Psychology experiments according to which women show more adherence to the interdependent values (e.g. Markus & Kitayama 1991: 247). Specifically, within the network of strict male-dominated hierarchical relations that interdependent cultures involve, women exhibit an increased need for abasement and affiliation with the in-group.

The interdependent world-view is also mirrored in the differences in perspectival choices between SA and SC. The performance mode of SA which underscores an equality of relation between addresser and addressee contrasting to the strong didacticism and adult-child power code of SC can also be traced to the network of interdependent attitudes. Role relations that include in-group members involve great intimacy in interdependent cultures (Triandis 1989: 508): this is reflected in the atmosphere of participatory engagement in the world-making of narrative performances characteristic of the addresser-addressee relations in SA. At the same time though, interdependent cultures tend to be high in power distance, a feature which in the case of adult-child interactions implies the existence of a rigid power code. Thus, compared to independent cultures, the child-rearing patterns of interdependent cultures have been found to highly value obedience, reliability, respect and conformity on the children's part (e.g. Markus & Kitayama 1991: 237). In view of the above, the addresser-addressee relation of asymmetry underlying the overall narrative construction in SC proves to be motivated by the interpretive frame of

interdependence. The same applies to the other major criterial feature of the strategies of binding/unfolding and evaluating in SC, namely their affinities with the literate style of narration. The choice of employing storytelling to children as an oral preparation for literacy is inextricably bound up with the notion of children's school achievement which has been characterised as the "*most well-documented motive in interdependent cultures*" (idem: 241). Its significance lies in its connection with familism and filial piety, that is, with the enhancement of the social standing of the in-group.

A final piece of overwhelming evidence about the stories' interdependent interpretive frame covers the general "closedness" which characterises their narrative construction. Specifically, the whole discussion of the evaluative and unfolding mechanisms in each case of storytelling has brought to the fore a normative character in their use which leads to a high level of predictability as to the texture and function of MG stories under certain circumstances. In the play between self-confirmation or discovery and cultural loyalty or perpetuation, or in other words, between the personal experience and the cultural ways of telling it, there is very little room for individual variation, creativity and re-definition of text-building and cultural constraints. The "interdependent" desire to behave in conformity with the norms and establish reference to the values of the Greek "*homogeneous and tight culture*" (Triandis 1989: 512) through the narrativisation of experience proves to be so powerful as to turn MG storytelling into a highly predictable, almost ritualised activity which exalts itself in its self-perpetuation.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

This study set out to achieve a twofold purpose: to identify, describe and interpret the text-constitutive (ie organisational and expressive) mechanisms of MG personal stories and to investigate their relation to their immediate context of occurrence and the wider cultural context. Of the elements of the immediate context, the variable primarily focused upon was the addressee as captured in the distinction between storytelling to adults and storytelling to children which was decided to be a major guideline of the data collection on the basis of ethnographic observations. A crucial underlying assumption at the very initial stage of the research was therefore that the stories' textuality is bound to be shaped by contextual constraints, particularly by the age of the audience.

The review of the general framework of discourse-analytic approaches to natural narrative guided the passage from the stage of the work's initial assumptions and hypotheses to the stage of specifying its objectives. It specifically led to the postulation of the functional scheme of **binding-unfolding-evaluating** to be employed as the main analytic tool for unlocking the stories' textuality, namely their local and global organisation and their expressivity. The scheme's conceptualisation mainly derived from multi-level functional analyses of natural narrative and studies of narrative development. Specifically, the major premises adopted from or inspired by these frameworks were a. the anisomorphism of form-function, b. the contextualisation thesis or approach to storytelling, c. the integration of the top-down and bottom-up processes of narrative organisation and d. the distinction between **storyability**, evaluation and **tellability**. The first step towards operationalising the scheme for the stories at hand was to decide on the segmentation procedures to be applied to them. The two methods selected as complementary were **stanza analysis** and **highpoint analysis**. The objectives of the data analysis by means of these methods were to uncover the specific binding, unfolding and evaluating devices and to abstract the discrete strategies underlying their choice in each case of storytelling; additionally, to

shed light on the ways in which these are informed by cultural constraints. The above objectives were pursued in chapters 3-6, which covered the discussion of the data analyses and their findings, and finally in chapter 7, which drew all the threads together and provided the overall interpretation of the findings by means of invoking wider frames of reference.

The data that formed the basis of this research were a corpus of prompted (basic corpus) and a corpus of naturalistic oral personal stories (free corpus) for two audiences (adults-children); these were supplemented by corpora of written narratives and children's narratives. The first major instance of context-dependence of the stories' texture that the analysis brought to the fore involved the culturally-determined **tripartite patterning** of their binding and unfolding. This was found to be a pervasive mechanism of narrative organisation with schematic significance and predictive power that informs the top-down narrativisation of experience in MG. As such, it was the only binding/unfolding device which was not affected by the variables of the immediate context of narrative communication including the addressee.

The stories' "segments of three" served as the frame for uncovering the rest of the binding/unfolding devices that operate in them as local ties and global links. The findings pertinent to these devices led to the identification of distinct textual strategies in each case of storytelling which were clearly shaped by the addressee variable. To begin with SA, at unfolding level, they were found to favour an **anticipatory strategy of macrosegmentation and discontinuity** whose main concomitant formal devices are shifts to the HP and CD accompanied by participant tracking devices (ie marked referential choices, switch reference devices). Their global segmentation strategy thus encompasses frequent **perspectival shifts** which encourage the mutual sense-making between narrator and audience in that they only implicitly point to the relevance of the parts to the story's overarching theme. The same strategy characterises the evaluating of SA, too, which shows rather than tells the story's point by means of dramatisation and performance. This is achieved by salient alternations between instances of HP and CD interwoven with inter-stanza symmetrical patterns. The effect

of the **proximal evaluative devices** which constitute the major vehicles for evaluation in SA is a scene-internal viewing of the events narrated which leaves their interpretation up to the addressee. Thus, unfolding and evaluating in SA were found to form interlocking systems that co-operate in the creation of a performance in which the addressee becomes involved as a co-witness of and a collaborator in the narrating act. The comparability of the strategies that underlie unfolding and evaluating in SA was mainly evidenced in the case of **dual function devices** which instantiated an orchestrated division of labour between the two components for the construction of the global coherence.

The analysis of SC on the other hand disclosed a strategy of **explicit binding** and of **continuity, conjoinability and paratactic sequentiality** at unfolding level. The latter was marked by the avoidance of switch reference and tense shift as demarcatory devices and by a predilection for (mainly temporal) discourse markers as signposts of the text's temporal strategy. On the whole, while at binding level the differentiation between SA and SC was far from impressive and only lay in the degree of explicit connections, the unfolding choices exhibited a straightforward recipient design: this mainly consisted in the avoidance in SC of the conglomeration of the local with the global strategies of narrative organisation. Comparably, the orchestration of the unfolding with the evaluating functioning was less systematic -compared to SA- as suggested by the fact that the dual function devices were normally not opted for. Even when they occurred, they were confined to the stories' climactic part instead of evolving to their maximum point of co-operation and systematic patterning that was identified as the **saturation level** of performed MG stories. On the whole, the evaluation of SC was typified by **second-order interpretation devices** (ie linguistic markers of intensity, schema-driven devices, embedded evaluation) which clearly pointed to the narratorial presence acting as an evaluative filter. As a corollary, the effects of **experiential iconicism and involvement by mutual sense-making** that characterised evaluation in SA were replaced in SC by a **mediated, controlled and less embedded evaluation** which guided the addressee's decoding of the story's point. In a nutshell, the binding/unfolding and evaluative choices of SA were found to

instantiate the **global performed or replaying mode** of MG storytelling while those of SC propounded a **literate-strategy or report-mode** narration. The perspectival choices accompanying the former mode are exponents of a mimetic discourse that shows rather than tells by contrast to the latter mode's diegetic and conceptual discourse. In highpoint analytic terms, the former is realised by climactic patterns of narration which revolve around peak points, while the latter lends itself to non-climactic (-tension) patterns whose commonest forms are moment-in-time and chronological deliveries.

The findings presented above fulfilled the goal of identifying the binding/unfolding and evaluating mechanisms of MG storytelling and of shedding light on their recipient design. However, their full interpretation was accomplished by means of invoking their wider sociocultural frames. This was the last step towards completing the contextualised study of MG storytelling. The analysis of the findings in the light of their cultural implications and connections suggested that they are mainly accountable for by the factors of i. narrative functionality and purpose in relation to the audience- and gender-shaped tellability, ii. the stories' network of power relations and iii. cultural attitudes towards literacy practices. More specifically, the binding/unfolding and evaluating strategies in SC proved to be inextricably bound up with the overarching function of **didacticism**; by contrast in SA the common denominator of all narrative purposes, including the prevailing functions of self-foregrounding and self-exposure in men's and women's stories respectively, as well as the therapeutic and/or heuristic telling of sensational narratives, was the creation of an atmosphere of **performance and dramatisation** in which the audience is swept along.

The contextualisation of the stories also lent itself to a **panopticon-type** interpretive frame for the binding/unfolding and evaluative choices of SC; this embraced the adult-child power code and its subsequent discursive arrangements of power as a major motivation for the textual make-up of SC. Furthermore, the evoking of wider frames of reference elucidated the choice of the literate-strategy of narration in SC as opposed to the orality-strategy of SA in terms of the orality-literacy question in the MG social

reality (ie cultural attitudes towards school achievement, diglossia and the status of purist tradition). Finally, all the contextualisation aspects of binding/unfolding and evaluating choices were tied together by an **interdependent** world-view which represents the ultimate instantiation of the stories' cultural dependence or their **cultural grammar**. This proved to embrace the whole gamut of their choices starting from their storyable themes and ending with their functions. It also informed the "closedness" and normativity that underlies MG narrative construction.

8.1 Suggestions for Further Research

The fact that this thesis dealt with a little explored MG genre and adopted an eclectic and interdisciplinary approach makes its findings a point of departure for further study in various domains of MG linguistics research. Here, attention will be drawn only to the most immediately relevant and obvious lines of expansion. Thus, while the study can readily form a vantage point from which non-narrative genres in MG can be explored, the suggestions here will only bear upon MG narrative discourse. First of all, a macro-scale investigation of narrative transactions in varied settings with more varied speaker-hearer relations other than the socialisation contexts among intimates would be welcome. Due to practical limitations and for the purpose of narrowing the focus of the present research, only certain contexts of narrative transactions were included in the study. As a corollary, while the corpora examined are wide and rich enough to allow us to make generalisations, certain issues were not touched upon: for instance, the investigation of possible differences in storytelling between urban and rural settings or among different socio-economic classes; also, the enquiry into storytelling between non-intimates which is a very promising area of research in MG, considering that narrative transactions between complete strangers on buses and trains are on the way of becoming a genre in itself and surely a fashionable mode of developing interpersonal relations, in particular in Athens.

Furthermore, the corpora examined here excluded stories from the older generation. A study of the narrative style of this generation would illuminate orality issues in MG. In particular, it would be expected to bring to the fore devices and constraints of

narrative construction which are robust across adulthood compared to more fragile narrative skills. Similar studies in English have suggested that the patterns of narrative structure are the least resistant to change across generations (e.g. Pratt & Robins 1991: 73-85). The orality-literacy question in relation to MG storytelling could also be elucidated by looking into narrative transactions in public domains (e.g. courtroom storytelling, storytelling in social work and police reports etc). Challenging issues for research here are the degree of institutionalisation of storytelling and the devices attached to it in relation to sociocultural constraints. Relevant studies in English have reported a high degree of institutionalisation of narrative (e.g. Hall 1992) in public domains; these in turn exhibit discourse conventions specific to them which accurately *"reflect the impact of macro social-linguistic determinants on discourse"* (Slembrouck 1992: 101, see idem: 101-19 for the representation of discourse in institutional contexts).

Lines of research such as the ones designated above could provide more evidence as to how different contextual parameters affect the binding/unfolding and evaluative shaping of MG storytelling in different settings. Alternatively, they could isolate and focus upon specific recurrent narrative devices such as tense shift or proximal evaluation with the aim of investigating their sensitivity to various contextual parameters. In addition to further research with the same orientation adopted in this thesis, namely discourse-analytic with a heavy sociolinguistic emphasis, a line of investigation following from this study concerns the genre of MG narrative in educational domains. This will be discussed below.

8.1.1 Modern Greek Storytelling in Education

The educational relevance of storytelling and, by implication, of its systematic study is being increasingly recognised in the literature (e.g. see Baacke 1986: 57-72). Stressing the need for the schools' connection to the narrative "ways of telling" intrinsic to the culture, Hymes epitomised the pedagogical value of storytelling as follows:

its (oral narrative experience) richness will wax and wane with forces over which schools have no control, but schools will be more effective if they realise its presence and take it into account. Insofar as schools can see their mission as the etymologically appropriate one for educating in the sense of drawing out, discovery of (the) patterning (of oral narrative experience) can be a source of encouragement and stimulation

1981: 171
(my parentheses)

The relevance of the present study to MG educational research is partly induced by its investigation of the audience-related dimensions of MG narrative construction as exemplified by "storytelling to children". This led to the discovery of the literate-strategy of narration in SC as opposed to the orality-strategy governing narrative construction in SA. The sociocultural framing of this differentiation prompted the connection of the uses of narrative communication in MG with the orality-literacy question (see §7.3) which is in turn inextricably bound up with MG education. Thus, the study can be used as a standpoint from which the orality-literacy question in MG educational settings (ie mainly primary schools) can be re-contextualised and illuminated. Specifically, issues of pedagogical importance which can be dealt with in the light of the present research are as follows:

- a. The differences and similarities in terms of binding/unfolding and evaluative mechanisms between the global performed mode of everyday MG storytelling as identified here and the model of narration employed and encouraged in school settings.
- b. In the same vein, the relation between the extracurricular storytelling for children as described here and the curricular model of narration which primarily emerges in the courses that act as preliminary to essay-writing in primary schools, namely in the "Descriptions and Narrations" and in the course based on the series of textbooks "*I Ghlossa mu*" (My Language).

- c. The extent to which this model draws and builds upon the orality-associated devices of MG storytelling.
- d. The relation between the students' academic achievement and their narrative production classified in terms of orality-strategy or literate-strategy; or, closely related to the above, the relation between the students' degrees of willingness or difficulty in departing from the orality resources of narration and their academic difficulties.
- e. The teachers' "narrative schema" or their reactions and attitudes (ie awareness, encouragement or discouragement) towards culturally constrained MG storytelling norms (e.g. tripartite patterning of the narrativisation of experience).

A growing body of research suggests that the systematic study of narration can illuminate all the above issues and provide far-reaching pedagogical applications. As suggested elsewhere, research in the American equivalent of the MG "Descriptions and Narrations", namely the constitution of "sharing time" (e.g. Gee 1985, 1989a,b, 1991, Hicks 1990, Michaels 1981, 1991) has demonstrated that students' academic failure is connected with their adherence to the orality resources of narration whereas their achievements are related to the use of a literate-strategy. Students who tended to produce "oral-strategy" (Gee 1985: 13) or topic-associated (Michaels 1981) narratives were reported to face great academic difficulties compared to children whose narratives accorded with the literacy-based style of narration. Subsequently, teachers were found to show little respect for any narrative production that is incongruent with the literate schema of narration, presumably due to their lack of familiarity with the repertoire of culturally determined narrative norms. This attitude was characterised as a "*dismantling*" (Michaels 1991) of the oral-based narrative construction.

To make the discussion so far more concrete, following is a case study of four children's narratives which illustrates some of the ways in which the findings of the

present study can bear relevance to classroom contexts. Prior to the discussion of the narratives, it has to be stressed that the issues which will be raised here are tentative and based on the understanding that in order to draw conclusions about them further research is required. The two pairs of narratives that will be examined were related by two second grade students (male-female, seven years old) and two third grade students (female-male, eight years old) correspondingly. These were recorded outside the classroom as part of Peterson & McCabe's (1983) method of eliciting children's narratives. However, the four students were observed in the classroom as well, during the "Descriptions and Narrations" hour. Both the observation and the teachers' comments about each of the students suggest that the narrators of the first story of each of the following pairs are by standards of the school-based model of narration classified as good students with developed oral and written skills unlike the narrators of the second story of each pair who are poor performers. In fact, when asked about the narrative performance - both spoken and written - of the second pair of students, teachers characterised their style of narration as "lexically poor", "syntactically disconnected", "unstructured", "lacking in insight into emotions and thoughts, and in a definite point":

(120) a. *thimame kati me tin xadherfi mu/ imastan kapiro kalokeri kato sti thia mu/ ki i thia mu me tis xadherfes mu ke to thio mu ihane pai sto ktima mas/ epidhi ihane kati mikra provatakia na ta taisun/*

I remember something with my cousin/ one summer we were at my aunt's house in the country/ and my aunt my cousins and my uncle had all gone to the fields since they had lambs and they had to feed them/

ki etsi eggho emina me tin xadherfi mu ti Vagelio/ ki epidhi tis aresun para poli ta pota/ mu ipe na tis fero ligho nero ghia na to anakatepsi me pota/

and so I[eggho] stayed back with my cousin Vagelio/ and because she loves drinks she told me to bring her some water/ so that she can mix it with a drink/

lipon tis to efera eggho/ alla eki pu pighene i Vagelio i xadherfi mu na rixi sto potiri tis ligho pota/ tis epese ke to ehise kato/

so I[eggho] brought it to her/ but as my cousin Vagelio was about to pour a bit of drink into her glass/ it fell off her hands and she spilt it on the carpet/

ki istera otan irthe i thia mu to idhe/ ke thimose poli/ ke mas malose ke tis

and then when my aunt came back she saw it and she was mad/ she told

dhio/

*apo tote dhen ehume xanakani kati
tetio/*

*b. emena tora pu pao sti dheftera
dhimotiku me ihe piasi o adherfos mu
ap to heri ke me ghirnaghe ghiro ghiro
etsi/*

*ke me rihni edho se ena dulapi/ ke
htipisa/ ke me ponaghe i mesi mu/*

*ki istera itan mesa o adherfos mu/ ke
me pire i thia mu i Anna/ tin estile i
mama mu ghia na mas pari patates/*

*ke pai ke mu lei/ na paro ki esena
koda/ katse tis leo na rotiso/ ke rotao/
ke mu lei ade/*

*ke pame na fighume/ ke mu lei o
pateras mu pare mu ki emena ena
paketo tsighara lights/*

*ke dhe ftanan ta lefta/ ke tu leo otan
ghirisame dhe ftanan ta lefta/ dhen
pirazi mu lei edaxi/*

*ke mia alli mera pao tu anigho to
paketo/ pao tu petao ta tsighara sta
skupidhia/*

*tu dhino to paketo/ pai na to anixi/ ti
na dhi/ oh kako pu epatha lei meta/*

us off both of us/

ever since we haven't done anything
else like that/

Fotis K.

now that I go to the second primary
class (time of the occurrence of events
non-specified: story starts with a pre-
posed emphatic clitic: me now that...) my
brother grabbed me from the hand
and started hurling me round and round
like this/

and he throws me to a cupboard **here/**
and I hurt myself/ and my waist hurt/

and then my brother was inside/ and
my auntie Anna took me/ my mum
sent her to buy us grocery/

and she (ellipsis for "my aunt") **comes
and tells me/ I'll take you with me/
hang on I have to ask first I tell her/
and I ask and she** (ellipsis for "my
mother") **tells me go/**

**and we are about to go/ and my dad
tells me buy me too a packet of
cigarettes lights/**

and there wasn't enough money/ **and I
tell him** (ellipsis for my dad) when we
came back there wasn't enough money/
never mind he tells me/ it's okay/

**and another day I go and open his
packet/ I go and throw the cigarettes
in the dustbin/**

I give him the packet/ he (ellipsis)
opens it/ "what to see" (idiom and
ellipsis: only to see that it was empty/
ooh damn he says/

Artemi K.

(121) a. *iha pai se kati ghenethlia/ dhe thimame piu pedhiu/ ki itane vevea ki alla pedhia eki pera ke pezane/*

ke kapia stighmi irthi ena pedhi ki arhise na mas pirazi/ mas epiane ta podhia ke mas eleghe xudhia apo dho/ ekane ghenika vlakies/

emis tote arhisame na htipame tin porta eki pera ghia na anixi/ itan ola ta aghoria eki pera mazemena/

mono eghe me ti Ghiuli imuna/ ke htipagame tin porta na anixi/ tipota aftos/

telika kataferame ke pighame mesa/ ke molis pighame aftos evale etsi to podhi tu/ ki arhise na mas klotsai pali/

meta irthi i adherfi tis Ghiulis omos na tin pari/ ki ipa ki eghe na figho mazi tus/ ke fighame mazi/

ke etsi dhe mu arese afto to parti/ ute ematha ti eghine/ an to malose o pateras tu to pedhi afto/

b. *ehi ligho plaka afto pu tha po/ i thia mu etimaze/ ine ghria i thia mu/ ine tora kamia oghdodaria hronon/*

etimaze faghito/ ghia na fame eki pros to mesimeri/ ke iha sholasi apo to sholio/ ke dhe thimame kala ne iha sholasi iha kana tetarto/

ke pira ena kuluri/ ke mu lei i thia/ pira dhio tria dhe thimame posa/ ghia na dho tileorasi/

I went to a birthday party/ I can't remember which kid's/ and of-course there were a lot of other kids there as well playing/

and at some point a kid came and started teasing a friend of mine and me/ he made us trip/ and he was going get out of here/ he was being foolish/

so then we (pronominal) started knocking at the door for him to open it/ since he had locked us in/ all the boys were there gathered around/

and Giuli and I were the only girls/ and we knocked at the door for him to open us/ to no avail/

finally we managed to get out/ and as soon we got out he (explicit) tripped us up/ and started kicking us again/

but a bit later Giuli's sister came to pick her up/ and I decided to go with them/ and we left altogether/

and so I didn't like this party/ and I didn't hear about what happened afterwards/ if his father told this kid off/

Vula K.

it is somewhat funny what I'll say/ my aunt was cooking/ my aunt is old/ she is around eighty/

she was cooking/ it was lunch time/ and I'd come back from school or I don't remember/ yeah I'd come back from school fifteen minutes ago/

and **I** got a cookie (*kuluri*: traditional greek vanilla cookies)/ and **my aunt** tells me/ I got two or three or so/

*ke mu lei i thia mu min pernis alla
ghia to faghito/ ki emena epidhi mu
aresan poli ta kuluria kitao/ pao
vgheno exo/*

*opos ine edho mesa i porta/ edho pera
ehi mia ine ligho pio kodi apo to
kanoniko/ ke krivese/*

*krivome egho edho pera ke parafilao/
molis ghirizi i thia mu na kitaxi pros
to tzami/ kati na aplosi ta ruha/*

*opos ine i kuzina enomeni me tis eki pu
trome/ opos ine enomeno ghia na
kovun ta kreata dhen xero/ ghiati ine
ena tsimedaki arketa meghalo/*

*vevea egho opos imun/ itan edho i
porta ine poli koda/ isa o tihos pu to
horizi/*

*anigho tin porta sigha sigha/ ke din
tin kopanao/ ke krivome edho pera/*

*opos krivome edho pera/ pao sigha
sigha ke ftano sto telos tu tsimedaku
eki pu ine o nerohitis/ pio pera dhipla
ine dhipla to tsimedaki akrivos dhipla
enomena/*

*pao sti ghonia akrivos/ vazo/ tahe vali
se ena kalathi/*

*vazo egho to heri mu/ kitao prota na
min ine kanis/ krivome apo kato/*

**and my aunt tells me don't get any
more cos you won't eat your food/
and since I liked the cookies so much/
I go I go out/**

**as the door is in here (takes the tape-
recorder unsuspectingly and uses it for
showing while narrating)/ there is a
smaller one just here/ and you can
hide/**

**I hide in here/ and watch out for my
aunt in case she turns and looks at the
window/ or if she hangs the clothes/**

as the kitchen is one room with where
we eat/ as they are like connected for
cutting the meat or I don't know why
(probably referring to a bar-style
separation of the kitchen and the dining
room, common in Greek houses)/ it is
a quite big work-surface/

as I was there/ the door was here (still
showing using the two surfaces of the
tape-recorder)/ very close like
connected/ it's only the wall which
separates them/

**I open the door "slowly slowly"/ and
"din" (onomatopoeia) I give it a go/
and jump in here/**

**as I hide in here I go slowly slowly
and get to the end of where the sink
is/ the work-surface is next to it/**

**I go to the corner/ I put/ she (ellipsis
for my "aunt") had put them in a box/**

**I put my hand in (ellipsis for "into the
box")/ I look through the door first/
in case somebody is there/ I hide/**

vazo to heri mu/ to tsibao to kuluri/ ke
kathome xana krimenos apo kato/

troo troo troo/ edaxi/

meta epidhi mu kalarese ki ithela ki
alo/ sikono to heri mu/ kitao dhen
erhotan/

alla pano pu pao na piaso to kuluri
beni i thia mu mesa/ alla eftihos
prolaveno ke to travao/ alla to idhe ke
to katalave/

I put my hand in/ pinch the cookie/
and sit down hidden/

I eat I eat I eat/ fine (ellipsis for "I
feel good after this")/

after that since I liked it so much and
wanted more/ **I lift my hand/ I look**
nobody was coming/

but as I am about to pinch the
cookie my aunt comes in but luckily
I manage to draw it (ellipsis for "my
hand") back/ but she saw it and she got
the idea/

Nikos D.

If examined in the light of the findings of this study about the binding/unfolding and evaluative mechanisms of MG storytelling, narratives **120a and 121a** can be characterised as **literate-strategy** while **120b and 121b** prove to instantiate the **performed orality-strategy mode** of MG storytelling. The former are tightly structured around a single event which they recount concisely. In terms of their unfolding, they propound a strategy of explicit signposting and continuity: for instance, they opt for demarcating stanza-initiations by means of temporal adverbials that tie the prior to the upcoming text (bolded) and are frequently accompanied by explicit reference devices (bolded). In both cases the initiating event which causes the complication (cousin's "illegal" drinking and child's naughty actions correspondingly) is explicitly evaluated through the emotive reactions and responses to it: 120a: she was mad, she told us off, 121a: he was being foolish, so I didn't like this party.

By contrast, the evaluative component in narratives 120b and 121b which readily fit our definition of performed narratives, is composed by proximal evaluative devices and in particular by shifts to the HP and CD (bolded). These two powerful devices, which are strikingly absent in 120a and 121a, along with a lavish paralinguistic of

gestures and non-linguistic intensifiers frequently accompanied by deictics¹ underlie the immediate and performing nature of the two stories. At the same time, they are the main vehicles for their unfolding. Another predominant feature of unfolding is the (mainly) inexplicit switch reference devices (bolded) in combination with spatiotemporal indicators that mark discontinuity (e.g. story 120b: and she comes, and I go, and another day. story 121b: I go out, and I go out, I hide in here, I jump in here, I hide in here, I get to etc).

At first glance, stories 120b and 121b lack in interconnectivity compared to 120a and 121a. Story 120b directly moves from the event of the fight with the narrator's brother to the shopping with the aunt and finally to the episode of the throwing away of the father's packet of cigarettes. These anecdotal and unrelated segments are part of the reason why stories like this are normally perceived by teachers as "disconnected". However, looking into the story's structuring through the awareness of the unfolding and evaluating acts and their accompanying devices in different narrative styles in MG becomes a revelation of the coherent relations lurking beneath the seemingly disrupted texture.

Specifically, story 120b links the different segments to its overarching discourse theme by showing rather than telling their interrelations through proximal evaluation and the macro-organisational power of perspectival shifts. The overall theme has thus to be inferred from the recovery of the story's piecing together in relation to the cultural frames in operation: projecting her home as a male-dominated place of authority, the narrator moves from a fight with her brother resolved by the escape which the shopping with her aunt offers, to two episodes with her father, the ultimate pole of authority, who is nevertheless manipulated in both cases; first, her unintentional disobedience to the father's request to buy him cigarettes is met with understanding and then her first active participation in the narrative world through taking the initiative to discard the father's cigarettes meets only verbal dissatisfaction and is

¹ Notice the proximal deictic "here" which occurs five times in story 121b in which the narrator makes constant use of gestures especially for the descriptive lines.

ultimately not resolved. The narrator does not include any reaction on the father's part to her act. Thus, the narrative ends in a reversed order of relations: from the narrator in passive position due to a male person of the family to the narrator as an agent towards a male person of the family.

Story 121b is more "connected" and with a readily recognisable discourse theme evolving around the axis forbidden action-agony of getting caught-punishment, which is very common in childhood. The "punishment" part is missing here but this is another choice highly compatible with everyday MG narrative, namely the absence of the resolution section. However, even with this more explicit thematic structuring compared to 120b, the story is still a typical instance of non-desirable formatting by school standards: it is long and with numerous intercalations of background commentary and details, thus representing stories which are criticised by teachers as missing the point and as filled with unnecessary information. Nevertheless, once again, looking at the story from the point of view of the devices on which the engaging everyday MG narrative is based, as identified and interpreted in this thesis, leads to the discovery of the functional motivation of the strategies employed in it. Specifically, the play between HP action segments and asides essentially acts as the crucial component of the story's unfolding by structuring the storyline vs non-storyline distinction. The intercalation of asides into the action in HP is ultimately motivated by the need to delay the narrative line and to surround the two attempts of the "forbidden" act with suspense, thus making the impact of the passage to the peak moments more profound.

Added to the orality-associated devices of unfolding and evaluating of the stories 120b and 121b, is the tripartite patterning as an indispensable mechanism of macro-organisation which makes up for what both stories superficially miss out on in terms of connectivity. Though stories 120a and 121a also draw on the same patterning, in 121a and 121b its use is more decisive for the plot-development. Story 120b evolves from the tripartite patterning of interactions with brother and father: brother (fight) - father (cigarettes) and again father (cigarettes); story 121b is macro-segmented through

the symmetrical tripartite scheme "first attempt (warning) - second attempt (success) - third attempt (failure)". Naturally, in both cases, this patterning is intensified by reiteration devices (underlined in the story).

The above analysis, having justified seemingly non-successful or "incoherent" narratorial choices in stories 120b and 121b by looking into them in the light of the findings of this study, has tried to outline a path for future research which will investigate the school's relation to the orality resources of MG narrativisation. Extensive classroom observation along with analysis of teachers' and children's narratives are necessary requirements for further research on the issue. Limited classroom observation as well as the corpus of children's narratives that formed part of the supplementary corpora of the present study suggested that students whose narratives exhibit the unfolding and evaluating devices that prevail in performed MG storytelling, are more likely to be interrupted by teachers during the narration hour. Teachers ask for explicit connections between textual segments and do not seem to be able to identify or build on the unfolding patterning that "orality-strategy" narratives possess. For instance, switch reference devices without expressed subject at stanza initiations, a common macro-organisational device in MG narration, are normally faced with intolerance due to their lack of explicitness. Proximal evaluative devices mostly in the form of alternations between HP and CD interrupted by off-the-stage asides are also treated as instances of long and pointless narration which is not tightly structured.

The above suggested that looking into the relation of the school-based model of narration to the children's narrative production and furthermore academic achievements in MG schools is a fruitful area for future research. The discussion thus pointed to a direction in which the findings of the present study can be drawn upon and employed as a point of departure for enquiring into educational issues. Additionally, part of their value in educational research lies in the fact that they increase awareness of and sensitivity to the text-building norms and contextual dynamics of MG narrative. This forms a critical contribution to the effective teaching

of MG language at a point at which a major *desideratum* for it, currently drawn attention to by Greek linguists and educationalists, is a functional approach that places emphasis on authentic texts and uses a wide range of spoken and written genres. This genre-specific approach to the teaching of writing is increasingly recognised as the sole antidote to the long-standing purist literacy practices at MG schools that have banned the use of any orality-associated genres. In a plea for communicative text-oriented teaching of MG, Babinotis (1992: 122) suggested that

it is through the critical analysis of the particular selections of a text under examination, in connection with the constant principles that constitute textuality... that one can... actually teach the exceptionally subtle and difficult skill of the composition and assimilation of more exacting texts

For the above to take place successfully, the essential prerequisite is the conduct of textlinguistic studies which will focus upon the construction of texts of different genres in MG thus raising awareness of their communicative functioning and relation to wider cultural discursive domains. Such studies, by drawing attention to the significance of models of textual analysis as appropriate metalinguistic tools, can alert teachers and education specialists to new ways of textual analysis and understanding; these in turn can offer "*insights into the linguistic form and function*" of texts "*which are not as readily obtainable through more traditional techniques of stylistic analysis*" (Simpson 1992: 47). The present work forms an instance of such genre-specific studies which are urgently needed for MG. Thus, to conclude, beyond all specific research suggestions springing from it, the overall guideline or line of research that is communicated involves the birth of a wide spectrum of discourse-analytic studies in MG. Their purpose should be to investigate with the appropriate sensitivity the sociocultural particularities of discursive configurations and practices in MG instead of taking for granted findings applying to English discourse. A major benefit attached to such studies is their contribution to the line of cross-cultural discourse-analysis at a time when it is most needed and appreciated as a tool for international understanding.

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Appendix

A Sample of the Stories

A. Basic Corpus

(1) λοιπόν καθόμασταν ένα πρωινό έξω στην αυλή/ η μάνα μου ετοιμάζε τα πράγματα για να πάει στο γάμο της μιας αδερφής μου/ δεν υπήρχε συγγενής τότε/ και ερχότανε ένα φορτηγό μια φορά την εβδομάδα/ οπότε περιμέναμε το φορτηγό που θα 'ρχόταν για να την πάρει να φύγει/ κι ετοιμάζε τα τελευταία πράγματα που θα 'παιρνε μαζί της/ στην αυλή/ ήμαστε στο πάνω μέρος του χωριού το σπίτι/ εγώ καθόμουνά έξω με τον πατέρα μου/ ήταν πρωί πρωί ώρα για δροσιά/ βλέπουμε και φτάσανε εκείνοι οι θεοί μου/ ο ένας ο συγγενής κι ο άλλος ο Αμερικάνος που δεν είχε έρθει στο σπίτι ποτέ ποτέ/ ήταν ένα γνωστό πρόσωπο φιλικό/ όσο μπορούσε δηλαδή/ στα χωριά ήμαστε δεμένοι όλοι/ δε μπορούμε να πούμε ότι ήτανε αποξενωμένος τελείως/ αλλά δεν ήτανε και άνθρωπος που έκανε επισκέψεις όπως οι άλλοι οι δικοί μας/ όταν τον είδε η μάνα μου/ λες και κάτι διαισθάνθηκε/ αμέσως τους καλωσόρισε/ είπε να τους κεράσει/ αυτοί τίποτα/ μουδιασμένοι/ δεν θέλανε ούτε να ανεβούνε πάνω στο σπίτι/ λέει είδανε ότι δεν ξέραμε τίποτα εμείς καθόλου/ τι να κάνουνε/ να φεύγανε πάλι ήτανε πάλι κάπως χοντρός/ βγαίνει κι ο πατέρας μου/ τους καλωσορίζει εκεί/ σαν κάτι να κατάλαβε/ η μάνα κι ο πατέρας αλληλοκοιταζόντουσαν συνέχεια/ κάτι σαν με τα μάτια να συνεννοήθηκαν ότι κάτι είχε γίνει/ φύγανε/ δεν είπανε τίποτα την ώρα εκείνη/ ε μετά του λέει η μητέρα μου του πατέρα μου/ τρέξε του λέει Παναγιώτη/ για να 'ρθει ο Σωτήρης εδώ του λέει μαζί με το Νικόλα πάει να πει ότι κάτι έχει γίνει/ αλλά χωρίς να ξέρουμε/ ούτε που πήγαινε το μυαλό μας στην Ελένη/ που ετοιμαζόμαστε για γάμο/ τρέχει ο πατέρας μου/ δεν μπορώ να σου περιγράψω το μέρος/ εγώ είναι σα να τα βλέπω στα μάτια μου τώρα/ και τους φτάνει σε ένα ορισμένο σημείο που τους βλέπαμε εμείς από το σπίτι/ του το είπανε/ του το είπανε αμέσως/ και γυρνάει ο πατέρας στο σπίτι/ δεν είπε κουβέντα/ καθόλου/ με πιάνει εμένα από το χέρι/ με τραβάει μέσα/ και της λέει της μάνας

μου η Ελένη πέθανε τίποτα άλλο/ τώρα καταλαβαίνεις ότι μουγαθήκαμε/ κανέννας δε μπορούσε να μιλήσει καθόλου/ η μάνα μου δε μπορούσε να βγάλει φωνή καθόλου/ κλείνουμε τα παράθυρα μέσα στο σπίτι/ με παίρνουν εμένα αγκαλιά/ με φιλάγανε με φιλάγανε και δε μιλάγανε/ ίσως συγκρατιόνταν για να μην μεταδώσουνε τον πόνο τους/ γιατί ξέρανε πόσο δεμένη ήμουνα εγώ/ πάρα πολύ δεμένη με την Ελένη/ τρομερά δεμένη σου λέω/ έβλεπα ήταν ο θεός μου/ πάει και τελείωσε/ γενικά μου 'κανε τα χατήρια/ μου 'κανε το καθετί/ ήταν η πιο αγαπημένη μου/ κι ας μη ζούσαμε μαζί/ γιατί δεν ήμασταν και μαζί για να 'χω δεθεί τόσο πολύ/ λοιπόν την ώρα εκείνη/ αφού κλείσαμε τα παράθυρα/ στο χωριό πρέπει να είχε διαδοθεί απ' ό,τι καταλαβαίνω τώρα/ γιατί δε μπορούσα να το συλλάβω αυτό τότε/ θυμάμαι πια ποιοι πρωτομπήκαν στο σπίτι/ ήρθε μια κυρία τη λέγαμε εμείς πια Αναστασιά και το θυμάμαι/ έφερε ένα χαρτάκι με καφέ κι ένα μπουκαλάκι σαν αυτά του ούζου γεμάτο με κονιάκ/ αυτά ήταν τα δώρα της παρηγοριάς που πάμε/ το θυμάμαι αυτό το πράγμα που ήτανε χαρακτηριστικό/ ε τώρα τι να πω πια;/ ότι ανέβαιναν/ πως φτάσανε ο ένας μετά τον άλλο οι συγγενείς/ το τι έγινε/ κλαυθμός και οδυρμός πια/ έτριξε το σπίτι από το μοιρολόγι και το κακό/ δε βρίσκονται λόγια/ τι να πω;/ α το άλλο θα πω/ ο ένας μου αδερφός το 'ξερε/ κι είχε κρυφτεί πάνω από το σπίτι μας να δει/ θα 'ρθει κανέννας να μας το πει/ όταν κατάλαβε ότι κάτι έγινε έφυγε αυτός/ και δεν τολμούσε να παρουσιαστεί παρά το βράδυ που μαζευτήκανε όλοι στο σπίτι/ στιγμές αλλοφροσύνης/ η μάνα μου το πώς ((έκανε)) το τι -/ σβήσανε τα πάντα/ η πανηγυρική ατμόσφαιρα η χαρούμενη ατμόσφαιρα του σπιτιού μετατράπηκε/ τώρα καταλαβαίνεις/

well we were sitting outside in the courtyard of my house one morning/ my mother was getting her things ready for the trip/ there was no public transport then/ and she was going on a lorry which came every week/ so we waited for the lorry to come pick her up to go/ and she was doing her final packing/ we lived at the higher part of the village/ I was sitting outside with my father/ it was in the morning nice and cool/ we see those uncles arrive/ one of them was a close relative but the other one the American had never visited us before/ we knew him well and liked him/ as much as

possible of course/ we all were very close in the country/ I can't say he was a complete stranger/ but he wasn't the sort of person who paid visits like the other relatives/ when mother saw him as if she sensed something/ she immediately welcomed him/ asked them if they wanted something to eat and drink/ they didn't want anything/ they felt awkward/ they didn't even want to come into the house/ they said- they saw that we hadn't heard anything/ what were they to do/ it would have been a bit much to pick up and leave/ my father comes out as well/ he welcomed them out there/ like he knew something was going on/ my mother and father kept looking at each other/ like they communicated with their eyes that something must have happened/ they left/ they didn't say anything at that point/ after that my mother tells my father/ run Panaghiotis she tells him/ for Sotiris and Nikolas to come here something must have happened/ but without knowing exactly what/ and we didn't think of Eleni/ 'cos we were getting ready for the marriage/ my father runs/ I can't describe you the exact place/ but I can still see it in front of my eyes/ and he reaches them at a certain point/ where we could see them from the house/ they told him/ they told him straight away/ and father comes back home/ he didn't say anything/ not a word/ he takes me by the hand/ he pushes me inside/ and he tells my mother Eleni died/ nothing else/ now you understand that we lost our voices/ nobody spoke/ not at all/ couldn't utter a word/ we closed all the windows/ they took me in their arms/ and hugged me and hugged me and stayed silent/ maybe they were bottling it all up to hide their suffering from me/ 'cos they knew how attached I was/ ever so attached to Eleni/ I mean really attached/ I ((saw)) - she was my hero/ period/ she used to do all my favours/ she did everything for me/ she was my favourite/ even though we didn't live in the same household/ 'cos it wasn't where we lived that made us so attached/ at that time after closing all the windows/ the news must have spread in the village from what I can tell now/ because I couldn't understand it then/ I can remember who came first to the house/ a woman came we called her Anastasia and I remember it/ and she brought a little paper bag full of coffee and a little bottle like the ouzo bottles full of brandy/ those were the gifts of consolation which people take/ I remember it because it was typical/ well what more can I say now/ how one after the other all the relatives arrived/ it was terrible/ there was crying and mourning/ the house shook from

the mourning/ what can I say/ no words can describe it/ the other thing was that my brother had heard about it before us/ and he went and hid himself somewhere/ and he stayed there until somebody else told us/ so when he heard about it he left/ and he only came back when all the relatives were at home/ moments of madness/ my mother oh god my mother/ what ((she did)) -/ everything was gone/ the joy the happy atmosphere before the wedding/ well you can imagine/

Athina H., BSA

(2) όπως όλα τα παιδάκια έχουν αδερφάκια/ είχα κι εγώ μια αδερφούλα/ ήμασταν πολλά αδερφάκια μαζί/ όλα ήμαστε αγαπημένα/ αλλά ανάμεσα στ' άλλα είχα μια αδερφούλα που τη λέγαν Ελένη/ και την αγαπούσα πάρα πολύ/ έμενε στην Αθήνα/ ερχόταν κατά καιρούς στο σπίτι/ τη λάτρευα γιατί μου 'κανε όλα τα χατήρια/ μου 'φερνε πάρα πολλά πράγματα που δεν υπήρχαν στο χωριό/ εκείνο που μ' ευχαριστούσε περισσότερο/ ήταν γιατί μου 'ραβε πολλά ρουχαλάκια/ που τότε δεν υπήρχαν/ κι ίσως το ένα παιδάκι με το άλλο που βλέπαμε εκεί στο χωριό/ και η ζήλεια εκείνη που ένιωθε το ένα για το άλλο/ ίσως εμένα να με ικανοποιούσε/ και να την αγαπούσα γι' αυτό δεν ξέρω/ δεν μπορώ να βρω το λόγο/ πέρα απ' την αδερφική αγάπη τι άλλο μπορούσε να με δένει/ ήταν αρραβωνιασμένη μ' ένα μηχανικό/ να λέμε και τον τόπο στην Αθήνα/ και ετοιμαζόμασταν για το γάμο της/ θα 'φευγε η μανούλα μου για την Αθήνα/ γιατί δεν υπήρχε συγκοινωνία τα χρόνια εκείνα/ ήτανε παρα πολύ δύσκολα/ ένα φορτηγό έκανε μια φορά τη βδομάδα το δρομολόγιο/ και θα πήγαινε με 'κείνο/ ήτανε μετά από δυο τρεις μέρες που θα έφευγε/ τελείως ξαφνικά κι ενώ ήμασταν πάρα πολύ χαρούμενοι/ ήρθαν δυο επισκέπτες στο σπίτι/ και μας φέρανε την πιο δυσάρεστη είδηση που θα μπορούσαμε να ακούσουμε τις στιγμές εκείνες/ μας είπαν ότι η αδερφή μου πέθανε τελείως ξαφνικά/ στα χωριά συνηθίζαμε να μαζευόμαστε σε στιγμές τέτοιες δύσκολες για να μοιραστούμε τον πόνο του άλλου/ έτσι και τότε μαζεύτηκε κόσμος/ άλλος με καφέ άλλος με κονιάκ/ αυτά ήταν τα δώρα της παρηγοριάς όπως τα λέγαμε/ η μάνα κι ο πατέρας μου βουβοί/ καλά δε λέγεται (()) ήτανε/ εμένα με ((είχανε)) - με κρατάγανε αγκαλιά/ και με φιλάγανε με

φιλάγανε/ κι ούτε κουβέντα/ ε καταλαβαίνετε/ εκεί που υπήρχανε τα γέλια κι
 οι χαρές/ αρχίσανε να κλαίνει/ ήταν μια τραγική κατάσταση/ δε μπορούσαμε-
 όλοι στενοχωρηθήκαμε πάρα πολύ/ ακόμη περισσότερο εγώ γιατί ήμουν α-
 δεμένη με την αδερφή μου/ χωρίς να 'χω συνηθειτοποιήσει το τι μου συνέβαινε
 ακόμη/ το τι κακό μας είχε βρει/ και ειδικά εμένα/ μαζεύτηκε κόσμος/ αρχίσαν
 τα μοιρολόγια/ αρχίσαν οι φωνές/ αρχίσαν τα κλάματα/ σκληρή για όλους-
 σκληρό για όλους το νέο/ άσχημο νέο/ δεν και κάτι όμως που δεν θα
 διορθωνότανε/ ε αυτό αυτό γίνανε τότε/ αλλά περάσανε σιγά-σιγά τα χρόνια/
 που μας κάνουν να ξεχνάμε/ ξέχασα κι εγώ/ θυμάμαι όμως την Ελένη πάντα/
 τη θυμάμαι που 'ναι στον ουρανό με πολλή πολλή αγάπη/

like all other children have brothers and sisters I had a sister too/ we all loved each
 other/ some more than others/ I had a sister called Eleni/ and I loved her a lot/ she
 lived in Athens/ she used to come back home now and then/ and I adored her because
 she did all these favours for me/ she brought me all these things which you couldn't
 get in the village/ the thing which made me happiest was when she made all these
 clothes for me/ which in those days couldn't be bought/ and maybe because the
 children in the village -/ and their jealousy/ and maybe this made me feel good/ and
 I loved her even more for it I don't know/ I can't find an explanation/ except for
 sisterly love what else could make us so close/ she was engaged to a mechanic/ the
 place was Athens/ and we were getting ready for her marriage/ my mummy was going
 to go to Athens/ because there was no public transport in those days/ those were very
 very hard times/ a lorry did the trip once a week/ and she was going to go on that
 lorry/ she was going to go in a couple of days or so/ all of a sudden and while we
 were all so very happy two visitors came to our house/ and they brought us the worst
 news that we could have possibly expected at that time/ they told us that my sister
 died all of a sudden/ in the country we usually get together at such difficult times to
 lessen the grief/ so then people gathered/ some bringing coffee others brandy/ those
 were the gifts of consolation as we called them/ my mother and father were
 dumbfounded/ there are no words to describe them/ they ((had me)) - they held me
 in their arms/ and they hugged and hugged me/ and not a word/ well you understand/

just before there had been laughter and happiness/ they started crying/ it was a tragic situation/ we couldn't -/ we were all so upset/ me more than anyone else because I was so attached to my sister/ without fully understanding what had just happened/ what a catastrophe this was/ and specially for me/ a crowd had gathered in our house/ they started mourning/ they started screaming/ they started crying/ the news was hard for everyone/ really bad news/ and there was nothing which could be done to change it/ well that's what happened then/ but slowly the years went by/ which make us forget/ I forgot too/ I'll always remember Eleni though/ I think of her up there in the sky with so much love/

Athina H., BSC

(3) λοιπόν πρέπει να ήταν πριν αρκετά χρόνια/ κι είχαμε ξεκινήσει κι είχαμε πάει όλοι μαζί με την οικογένειά μου μια εκδρομή/ όπως πηγαίναμε κάθε Κυριακή στο λούνα-παρκ/ κι εκεί περάσαμε πάρα πολύ ωραία/ ήμασταν οι γονείς μου κι εγώ με τον αδερφό μου το Γεράσιμο/ περάσαμε σχεδόν όλο το πρωί εκεί/ και κατά το μεσημέρι αποφασίσαμε να γυρίσουμε στο σπίτι/ ε γυρίζοντας ο καιρός ήτανε πάρα πολύ άσχημος/ έβρεχε συνέχεια/ κι ο μπαμπάς οδηγώντας αντιμετώπισε κάποιο πρόβλημα στο δρόμο/ και καταλήξαμε στο να έχουμε ένα ατύχημα με τον αδερφό μου/ δεν ήτανε τίποτα το σοβαρό/ απλά χτύπησε ο αδερφός μου στο μάτι του/ και θεωρήθηκε καλό να πάμε στο νοσοκομείο/ κι έτσι πήγαμε κατευθείαν στο νοσοκομείο/ το οποίο βέβαια ήταν αρκετά μακριά/ και τον πήραν τον αδερφό μου κατευθείαν στα επείγοντα/ η μαμά πήγε μαζί του και τον συνόδευσε/ ενώ εγώ έμεινα έξω με το μπαμπά/ τελικά δεν υπήρχε κανένα ιδιαίτερο πρόβλημα/ ο αδερφός μου έμεινε μόνο μια δυο μέρες στο νοσοκομείο/ και μετά έφυγε/ αυτό όμως που μου έκανε εντύπωση ήτανε το πόσο άσχημα ένιωθε ο πατέρας μου/ γιατί οδηγούσε αυτός το αυτοκίνητο/ και θεώρησε τον εαυτό του υπεύθυνο για το ατύχημα του αδερφού μου/ με τη μαμά δεν είχα την ευκαιρία να συζητήσω για το πώς αισθανότανε/ γιατί αυτή συνόδευσε τον αδερφό μου μέσα/ αλλά σίγουρα δε θα ξεχάσω το πως ένιωθε ο μπαμπάς για τον αδερφό μου/

well it must have been quite a long time ago/ and we set off altogether with my family on a day out/ like we did every Sunday to the fairground/ and we had a great time/ I was there with my parents and my brother Gerasimos/ we spent most of the morning there/ and as lunchtime approached we decided to make a move on/ well as we came back the weather got really bad/ it was pouring down/ and while dad was driving he had some trouble/ and we ended up having an accident with my brother/ it was nothing serious/ my brother had just an injury above the eye/ and it seemed wise to go to the hospital/ and so we went to the hospital/ which was of course quite a long way/ and they took my brother straight to the accident and emergency ward/ mum went with my brother/ she escorted him/ while I stayed outside with dad/ and there was no particular problem/ my brother only stayed a day or two in the hospital/ and then he left/ but what really impressed me was how dad took it all/ since he was driving the car/ and he felt responsible for my brother's injury/ I didn't have the opportunity to discuss with my mum how she felt/ because she escorted my brother into the ward/ but I definitely won't forget how my dad felt about my brother/

Virginia F., BSC

B. Free Corpus

B.1 Free Stories for Adults

(4) έχετε τύχει ποτέ σε γάμο ιπταμένων/ [όχι]/ δεν έχετε τύχει/ [όχι όχι]/ με τα σπαθιά που κάνουνε/ α έχετε χάσει/ θα σας πω εγώ από το γάμο του Σάκη στην Έδεσσα/ τι καψώνια του κάνανε στο τέλος/ όταν βγαίνανε στο τέλος με την Κατερίνα/ λοιπόν όταν βγαίνανε από την εκκλησία/ περνάγανε εκεί με τα σπαθιά/ κρικ κρικ κρικ κάνανε αυτοί/ φτάνουνε στο τέλος/ γυρίστε πίσω τώρα τους λένε ο τελευταίος στη γραμμή/ γύρνα γύρω γύρω και φίλησε όλους τους συναδέρφους σου/ κι εσύ απ' την άλλη μεριά της λέει της νύφης/ αφού τους φιλήσανε όλους φτάνουνε μπροστά πάλι/ γυρίσανε στον ίδιο μπροστά/ εκεί στον πρώτο που έβγαине από την εκκλησία/ του λέει να φιλήσεις τη νύφη δέκα φορές/ ένα δύο τρία τέσσερα πέντε έξι επτά οκτώ/ εννέα εννέα εννέα/ μετά προχωρήσανε κάμποσο/ φτάνουνε στην πόρτα/ τελευταίος ήτανε ο Σπύρος

εκείνος ο μάγκας ο πειραιώτης/ τον ξέρεις τον Σπύρο/ [Σπύρος ποιός είναι ο Σπύρος]/ [ένας κοντούλης παχουλός]/ όχι ψηλός καλοφτιαγμένος ωραίο παιδί/ εγώ έλεγα ότι τα μεγαλύτερα καψόνια θα τα κάνει ο Σπύρος/ έτσι μου 'χε μείνει η εντύπωση/ δεν ξέρω γιατί ίσως επειδή τον ξέρω ότι είναι μάγκας πειραιώτης/ αλλά στον προτελευταίο που φτάσανε/ ήτανε πίσω ο Βασιλάκης με πολιτικά/ κι είχε μια σαμπάνια/ στον προτελευταίο που φτάσανε/ στέκεται ο Βασιλάκης κραπ γκλαν τη σαμπάνια/ την ανοίγει/ λοιπόν βγάλε το παπουτσάκι σου της λέει της νύφης/ το βγάζει εκείνη/ το γεμίζουν σαμπάνια/ πιάστο εσύ του λένε του Σάκη/ τσακ το πίνει ο Σάκης/ δεν έκανε πίσω ο μαύρος ο Σάκης πουθενά/ όμως το ξαναγεμίζουν/ δίνουνε και της Κατερίνας/ το κοπάνησε κι η Κατερίνα/ φτάνουν στο Σπύρο πια/ φτάσανε στο Σπύρο που λέγαμε θα τους έκανε καψόνια/ ελεύθεροι τους λέει ο Σπύρος ο πειραιώτης ο άτιμος/ φύγετε/

have you ever been to an officer's wedding/ [no]/ you haven't/ [no not really]/ with the sabers/ well you're missing something/ I'll tell you about Sakis' wedding in Edessa/ they really gave him a hard time at the end/ when he came out of the church with Katerina -/ as they came out of the church/ they had to go under the sabers/ clack clack clack the guys there went/ they get to the end/ now go back the last one tells them/ go back and kiss your colleagues one by one/ and you do the same too they tell the bride/ when they kissed them all they go back there/ they went back to the same guy/ that guy who was at the entrance of the church/ he tells him/ kiss the bride ten times/ one two three four five six seven eight/ nine nine nine/ (he he)/ then they walked a bit further towards the door/ the last one in row was Spiros this rascal from Pireas/ do you know Spiros/ [Spiros? who's Spiros?/ a short and chubby guy?]/ no no tall and well-built/ very nice bloke/ I thought that Spiros would be the one that'd tease them most/ I had this impression right/ probably because I know that he's a rascal from Pireas/ but when they reached the guy before the last/ it was Vassilakis who was down there dressed in civilian clothes/ and he had a champagne/ so when they reached the guy before the last/ Vassilakis opens the champagne like this/ so they tell the bride take off your shoe/ she takes it off/ they fill it in with champagne/ now drink it they

tell Sakis/ "tsak" Sakis drinks it/ poor Sakis wouldn't say no/ but they fill it once again/ they give Katerina as well/ Katerina drank it down in one go/ so they finally reach Spiros/ they reached Spiros who we thought that would tease them most/ free to go Spiros tells them the rascal from Pireas/ off you go/ (he he)/

Liakos G.

(5) είμαστε τώρα με τον Κώστα Φωκίωνος Νέγρη/ ξέρεις πού είναι αυτό θεία/ [Κυψέλη]/ είναι ένας δρόμος που έχει όλο καφετέριες/ όταν είχα ανέβει πάνω για να περάσω κάποιο σχολείο/ λοιπόν μεσημεράκι περίπου/ πίνουμε καφέ έξω τώρα γιατί έκανε ζέστη/ αραγμένες οι μηχανές και τα λοιπά/ και σε κάποια φάση σκάει μύτη από το δρόμο εκεί από τη γωνία ένα φορτηγό κόκκινο/ βαμμένο όλο κόκκινο/ είχε μεγάφωνα πάνω/ κι είχε βάλει ένα τραγούδι/ αυτό που λέει πα ρα ρα ρα του ρου ρου ρου ρου/ Ζουγανέλης πάντως κι όλος ο θιασος/ στο καινούργιο κέντρο που θα τραγουδούσανε/ και περάσανε από 'κει για κάποια διαφήμιση/ και σταματάνε μπροστά σ' αυτό το δρόμο/ μπροστά η καφετέρια το Σαλέ/ γνωστό πολύ γνωστό/ και το μεγάφωνο να λέει αυτό το τραγούδι πα ρα ρα ρα του ρου ρου ρου ρουμ/ κι ο Ζουγανέλης να λέει από το μικρόφωνο παπαααάρες υπόκωφα/ (he he)/ και να πέφτουνε οι σοκολάτες τώρα από το φορτηγό/ και να τις πετάει κάτω σε μας στα τραπεζάκια/ και παίρνει κι ένας τις σοκολάτες/ και τις πετάει πίσω/ εμείς ήμαστε εκεί πέρα/ και να γίνεται τώρα ένας πόλεμος με τις σοκολάτες/ και να βλέπουμε τις σοκολάτες να πέφτουνε στο φορτηγό/ και το Ζουγανέλη να λέει αυτό το παπαααάρες/ και μουουου σα βόδι/ (he he)/ γέλιοοο/ (he he)/ τι γέλιο έπεσε εκείνο το πρωί/ (he he)

Now we're on Fokionos Negri with Kostas/ you know where auntie/ [is it in Kipseli by any chance]/ yeah it's this street with lots of cafeterias right/ when I'd gone up there to attend a course/ must have been some time in the afternoon/ we were having our coffees outside 'cos it was hot/ the bikes parked in a row you know/ at some point a lorry shows up out of the sidestreet painted red/ with speakers on top/ playing this

song/ the one that goes "pa ra ra ra tu ru ru ru rum"/ Zughanelis and the whole troupe/ at the club where they were doing the show/ and they'd passed for some free publicity/ and they stop in front of us at the street/ in front the cafeteria (street coffee-place) the Chalet/ well-known very well-known/ and the loudspeaker playing this song "para ra ra ra tu ru ru rum"/ and Zughanelis saying over the mike "papaaares" in a deep voice/ (he he)/ and now chocolates being thrown off the truck/ and he throwing them at us at the tables/ and somebody takes the chocolates/ and throws them back at the lorry/ we were there/ seeing a rain of chocolates falling on the lorry/ and Zughaneli saying this "papaaares" thing/ and mooing like a cow/ (he he)/ (he he)/ well that was a really good laugh/ (he he)

Takis G.

(6) άκου τώρα το προηγούμενο βράδυ του γάμου τι έγινε/ το έθιμο τώρα/ τώρα ξέρεις ότι βγαίνει ο γαμπρός μόνος του κι η νύφη μόνη της/ εν τω μεταξύ άντε τώρα ο Σάκης να ξεκολλήσει από την Κατερίνα κι η Κατερίνα από τον Σάκη/ μπας και τον αφήσει καμιά βραδιά τώρα ξέρεις και κάνει τι κάνει/ πάμε μαζί όλοι σε ένα μπαρ/ Κατερίνα Σάκης εγώ και μια κοπέλλα που έφερε ο Σπύρος/ όνομα Τζο τώρα/ καταλαβαίνεις/ γούνα κι από μέσα σορτς χειμωνιάτικα/ Τζο καταλαβαίνεις τώρα και από το όνομα/ και πάμε στο μπαρ/ καθόμαστε εκεί/ ξενυχτάμε/ ήταν μεγάλη παρέα/ καμιά δεκαριά άτομα/ και μετά λέμε τώρα εμείς θα φύγουμε/ τι θα κάνουμε/ πάμε λέει σε κανά σκυλάδικο/ εκεί ο Σπύρος τραγόταν/ όχι λέμε/ θα πάμε για ύπνο λέμε να ξεκουραστούμε/ πάμε να ξεκουραστούμε/ πάμε αφήνουμε την Κατερίνα στο σπίτι/ μένουμε εγώ κι ο Σάκης/ άντε τώρα του λέω/ αφού μείναμε οι δυο μας πάμε να φύγουμε από 'δω/ πάμε σε κανά σκυλάδικο/ τους είχαμε αφήσει όλους τους άλλους στο σπίτι/ πάμε τελικά στο σκυλάδικο/ και ποιον λες βλέπουμε εκεί πέρα μέσα/ τον αδερφό της Κατερίνας/ καλά αυτός ξέρεις έχει το μπλοκάκι/ δεν έχει λεφτά/ έχει το μπλοκάκι των επιταγών ας πούμε/ έτσι πληρώνει ο Δημητράκης/ τριάντα χιλιάδες ταξί πλήρωσε για να έρθει στο γάμο της αδερφής του/ τίποτα άλλο δε σου λέω/ φέρνει εκεί πέρα την ορχήστρα/ και πάρει τα ουσίσκια/ και

πάρε τις ορχήστρες/ κι από δω κι από 'κει/ και τα άλλα τα σκυλιά στο
τραπέζι/ και δώστου μέχρι τις έξι η ώρα το πρωί/ την άλλη μέρα το μάθανε/
κι αρχίσανε να μας κυνηγάνε/

listen up/ this happened the night before the wedding/ now the custom/ you know stag
nights and hen nights/ well you know how difficult it is to tear Sakis from Katerina
and Katerina from Sakis/ just to let Sakis go out and get up to some hell-raising/ [hell
yes this well-known]/ we all went to this bar/ Katerina Sakis me and this bird Spyros
brought along/ her name was Jo/ [sorry?]/ did you say Jo?]/ well yes/ short pants and
a fur coat on top/ does this say anything to you/ (he he)/ you get the picture with a
name like that/ so we go to this bar/ we're sitting there/ having a good time/ we were
a large group/ ten people or so/ and then we thought it was about time we made a
move/ any ideas/ Spyros says let's go to a night club/ Spyros was really itching to go/
we all say no/ we say it is time we went home to get some rest/ so we take Katerina
home/ me and Sakis are left/ come on/ since we're the only ones left let's paint the
town red I tell him/ so we go to this night club/ and guess who we bump into/
Katerinas's brother/ well he's "got the chequebook" y'know/ he doesn't carry cash/
he's got the chequebook/ this is how little Dhimitris pays/ he payed thirty thousand
drachmas to come to his sister's wedding in a taxi/ what more can I say/ so he brings
the band there/ and there comes whisky and music to our hearts' content/ and here and
there/ and all the broads (dancing) on the table/ and on the fun goes till six in the
morning/ next day they found out/ and they started being after us/

Takis G.

(7) χαμός μεγάλος ήτανε μια φορά το εβδομηντατέσσερα/ στην Ακαδημίας το
σαρανταένα/ που 'ναι το κατάστημα σαρανταένα στη Σταδίου/ απέναντι από
τις νερατζιές/ που 'ναι το Πανεπιστήμιο εκεί/ εκεί από πάνω από το
σαρανταένα μιλάγε τότε ο Μαύρος στην Ομόνοια/ κι αφού έφυγε όλος ο
κόσμος/ η ΕΔΗΚ τότε είχε πάρει εικοσιέξι τοις εκατό πόσο είχε πάρει/ είχε
πάρει αρκετό ποσοστό/ είχε κόσμος/ κι ανεβαίναμε όλοι προς τα πάνω/ στο

σαρανταένα σταματήσαμε όλοι/ είχε βγει ο Μπάμπης ο Κωνσταντόπουλος/ ναι
 Κωνσταντόπουλος λεγότανε/ ένας τρελλός της πολιτικής να πούμε/ και βγήκε
 να μιλήσει/ μίλαγε μπουφ τα νεράτζια από κάτω να πηγαίνουνε/ να χτυπάνε
 ντουβ ντουβ/ (he he)/ αυτός να μιλάει/ σε μια φάση όμως ένα τον παίρνει/ γιατί
 μόλις πηγαίνανε τα νεράτζια αυτός έσκυβε/ φεύγανε τα νεράτζια σηκωνόταν/
 μίλαγε στη συνέχεια/ στο τέλος του τραβάει ένας ντουουβ/ οπότε λέει αίσχος
 αίσχος αίσχος/ τώρα θα σας μιλήσω για την αγροτική πολιτική/ (he he) (he he)/
 τα νεράτζια να πηγαίνουνε σύννεφο/ να χτυπάνε ντουβ ντουβ/ να βγαίνουνε
 κάτι κορίτσια εκεί που είχε ιδιαιτέρες και να κάνουνε/ όχι άλλο σας
 παρακαλούμε/ (he he)/ με το ένα που τον χτύπησε τον έριξε κάτω/ πάει μέσα
 σας λέω/ και μετά από λίγο βγαίνει έξω/ αίσχος αίσχος αίσχος/ τώρα θα σας
 μιλήσω για την αγροτική πολιτική/ (he he)

we had a real laugh once in seventy four/ at the forty one shop on Stadiou Street/
 opposite the tangerine trees/ near the University/ Mavros was giving a speech then
 from a balcony above forty one onto Omonia Square/ and as everybody was leaving/
 EDIK had twenty six per cent of the vote/ it was big party then/ there was a big
 crowd/ and we were all walking uphill/ I was a student then/ and I was with this
 crowd/ and we all stopped at forty one/ Babis Kostandopoulos had come out/ [did you
 say Kostandopoulos]/ yes Kostandopoulos was his name/ one of the eccentrics of
 politics/ and he came out to speak/ he was speaking splat went the oranges/ falling
 split splat/ (he he)/ he kept on speaking/ but at some point one of them hits him/
 because as an orange would approach he would duck/ and then stand up again/ and
 start speaking again/ at the end somebody throws one and splat/ so he says shame
 shame shame/ I will now go on to agricultural policies/ (he he) (he he)/ the oranges
 going splat/ falling split splat/ some girls who were his secretaries coming out and
 saying/ please that's enough/ (he he)/ when that one hit him he ducked/ and he goes
 inside/ and then he comes out/ shame shame shame/ I will now go on to agricultural
 policies/ (he he)

Thomas H.

(8) όταν ήμουν μικρή/ 8 χρονών ήμουν/ μου λέει κάτσε κει μου λέει η μάνα μου/ εγώ θα πάω στο Λεβίδι/ με βάζει εκεί στο τζάμι/ στη γωνία κάτω πλέναμε τα πιάτα/ και βάζαμε ζεστό νερό/ εκεί τα πλέναμε τα πιάτα/ ((λέει))/ εγώ - ο πατέρας μου ήτανε κυνηγός/ κι είχε απέναντι κρεμάσει μέσα στο χειμωνιάτικο/ είχε κρεμάσει το ντουφέκι/ κι εγώ έλεγα ο πατέρας το κάνει (())/ το 'κανε έτσι όταν το καθάριζε/ το 'χε φέρει από την Αμερική/ τότε που ήρθε έφερε το ντουφέκι/ και το 'χε εκεί/ για να δω λέω/ πάω κι εγώ να το κάνω να κάνει κρικ/ να το ξεκρεμάσω/ ήταν ένας γάντζος έτσι/ κι ήτανε μέσα/ και δεν το έφτανα/ αλλά ήταν έτσι πλαγιαστό/ και το έφτανα κάτω που κρεμόταν από τη λουρίδα/ το τραβάω του σηκώνω τα κοκόρια/ εντάξει/ το 'χα έτοιμο/ δεν έπλενα τα πιάτα εγώ/ κοίταγα εκεί/ ήθελα να το κάνω κρικ/ το κάνω/ α μου άρεσε η πρώτη/ ωραία είναι λέω/ (he he)/ και το άφησα εκεί/ δεν συνειδητοποίησα μήπως είναι γεμάτο τίποτα/ ξεκρεμασμένο αυτό ε/ έφτανα τη σκαντάλη/ και κρεμόταν η λουρίδα κάτω/ άσε λέω τώρα ας πλύνω λίγα πιάτα/ αλλά μπορεί να το ανοίξω και το άλλο λίγο αργότερα για να παίξω/ άντε λέω/ αλλά αφού είχα σηκώσει το κοκοράκι πίσω να κάνω και το άλλο λέω/ τη δεύτερη φορά πάω να το τραβήξω/ λες να 'χει καμιά σφαίρα μέσα λέω/ σκέφτηκα/ την πρώτη φορά δεν το είχα συνειδητοποιήσει/ τη δεύτερη φορά με το που τραβάω μπαμ πετάγεται/ πετάγεται και μένει στα χέρια μου/ πετάγεται που λες η σφαίρα ναι/ αλλά ευτυχώς δεν έφυγε κάτω/ κι από κάτω ήταν το μουλάρι ε/ έφυγαν μαζεμένα προς τα πάνω/ μπαίνει η αδερφή μου μέσα/ είσαι ζωντανό/ είσαι καλά/ είσαι καλά/ ανήσυχη να μην ξέρει τι γίνεται/ μαζεύονται τώρα όλοι στο χωριό/ σου λένε κάτι κακό πρέπει να 'γινε στου Καρούτζου το σπίτι/ έγινε λέει κάτι έτσι μπουουμ/ και δεν είναι για καλό/ τρέχουνε εκεί ήρθανε/ λένε τι κάνετε/ πάει λέει μια του πατέρα μου τι διάολο κάνεις εδώ/ το σπίτι στο γαζώσανε όλο/ ρίχνουνε του λέει με το ντουφέκι/ τι λες βρε που ρίχνουνε της λέει/ εγώ τις έχω κρύψει τις σφαίρες/ μόνο το ντουφέκι είναι 'κει/ ο πατέρας μου τα 'κρυβε/ και δεν υπήρχανε σφαίρες σ' αυτά/ έρχεται μου λέει η αδερφή μου/ πήγαινε απέναντι στα παιδιά γιατί άμα 'ρθει μου λέει θα σε σκοτώσει/ ο πατέρας μου ήταν νευρικός/ και σου λέει τώρα θα φάει ξύλο/ σκότωσέ το του κάνανε τι το φυλάς/ εγώ κοίταγα έτσι/ τα

χεράκια μαζεμένα/ τι το φυλάς/ πήγε να ρίξει ντουφέκι/ εκείνη όμως δεν άπλωσε χέρι πάνω μου/ ήταν η μεγάλη μου αδερφή/ μου λέει τι να κάνουμε/ μου λέει το βράδυ/ στο μέρος εκεί που 'ναι στην Καστανή/ την άνοιξη τα πρόβατα τα γίδια τα πηγαίναμε εκεί την άνοιξη/ είχαμε τη στρούγγα/ μου λέει άκου να δεις/ πήγαινε στα Βλάχικα που 'ναι ο Δημητράκης κι ο Τάκης/ ένας ξάδερφός μου κι ο αδερφός μου/ και μετά όταν θα 'ρθει να σε δει/ μετά από μια βδομάδα θα κατέβει μου λέει απ' το βουνό/ εντάξει λέω/ φτάνω έξω απ' το χωριό και φώναζα Τάκη Δημητράκη με διώξανε από το χωριό γιατί έριξα ντουφέκι/ εκείνος/ φέρνεις ψωμί τι μας φέρνεις/ [[εκείνα πεινάγανε]]/ έριξα ντουφέκι έλεγα εγώ/ δεν άφηνα να πάω κοντά/ μίλαγα όλο το δρόμο/ όταν έφτασα κοντά α να χαθείς μωρή λέει εμείς λέγαμε φέρνεις ψωμί λέει/ και μας λες έριξες ντουφέκι/ (he he)/ εγώ το 'χα μεγάλο γεγονός/ (he he)

when I was small/ I was eight years old/ my mum tells me stay there/ she tells me I'm going to Levidi/ she leaves me at the window still/ we used to do the dishes at the corner/ and we'd get hot water/ that's where we did the washing up/ ((she says))/ mine- my father was a hunter/ and he hung up the shotgun inside the dining-room/ he'd hung up the shotgun there/ and I said my father does it like this when he cleans it/ he'd brought it from America/ he brought it with him when he came back/ and he had it there/ so I say let's have a look/ so I go to make it go click/ to take it off the wall/ it was hanging on the wall/ and as it was there I wasn't big enough to reach it/ and to take it off/ but it was slanted/ and I could just reach the butt/ I pull at it/ pull the cock back alright I had it ready/ I wasn't doing the washing up/ I was looking over there/ I wanted to make it go click/ I make it click/ aah that was nice/ (he he)/ and I left it there/ I didn't realise it could be loaded/ not at all/ but since I'd pulled the cock back I say what does this other thing do/ the second time I'm about to pull the trigger/ but I think what if there's a bullet in there/ I hadn't realised this the first time/ so the second time just as I pull the trigger it goes baang/ the second time as I pull the trigger bang it goes off/ it goes off and "stays in my hands"/ so the bullet goes off/ but luckily it didn't go downwards/ 'cos the mule was downstairs/ [oh God no]/ but it all went upwards you see/ my sister comes in/ are you alive/ are you okay/

are you okay/ she was worried not knowing what was going on/ [of course]/ now everyone in the village gets together/ they say something must have happened in Karutzo's house/ something happened just like this "bang"/ and it's not a good thing/ so they run to our place/ they came there/ they say what are you doing here/ some woman goes and tells my dad/ what the hell are you doing here/ they shot right through your house/ they are shooting with a shotgun/ what are you talking about he tells her/ I have hidden the bullets away/ they could only find the shotgun/ my dad was hiding them/ and there were no bullets in them/ my sister comes and tells me (lit: comes tells me my sister)/ go across the road to the lads 'cos if he comes he'll kill you/ my dad was touchy/ and she says now she's gonna get a spanking/ kill her they were telling him/ what do you need her for/ [ooh]/ I was looking like that/ my hands held together/ kill her/ she tampered with the gun/ but she didn't touch me/ this was my older sister/ she'd never hit me/ she tells me/ what can we do now she tells me in the evening/ there was this place called Kastani/ and we used to keep our cattle there in spring/ we used to have something like a cattle-shed there/ she tells me listen to me/ go to Kastani where Dimitrakis and Takis are/ a cousin of mine and my brother/ and when you see him again the whole thing will be forgotten/ this will be in a week from now she tells me/ alright I say/ on my way there I started shouting/ Takis Dimitris I'm coming to you/ 'cos I tampered with the gun/ they were going are you bringing us bread/ what are you bringing us/ [[those two were hungry]]/ no I tampered with the gun/ I was shouting all the way/ when I reached them oh just get lost they told me/ we thought you are bringing us food/ and you are telling us that you fired a shotgun/ (he he)/ but I thought that what had happened to me was something big/ (he he)

Sofia I.

B.2 Free Stories for Children

(9) εγώ θυμάμαι τα πρώτα χριστούγεννα που έκανα στην Αθήνα/ ό'τι είχα τελειώσει/ δούλευα στην Αθήνα/ και θυμάμαι από τις προηγούμενες μέρες που κατέβαινα κάτω στα μαγαζιά/ έβλεπα τις βιτρίνες/ κάτι που δεν το 'χαμε κάτω στην επαρχία τόσο έντονα καμιά φορά/ και στην επαρχία είναι γραφικά τα χριστούγεννα/ αλλά στην Αθήνα μου φαινόταν ότι είχαν μια άλλη λάμψη μια άλλη γοητεία μια πολυτέλεια δηλαδή/ έβλεπα τις βιτρίνες που 'ταν στολισμένες/ και τον κόσμο που έτρεχε για ψώνια/ τους μικροπωλητές/ κι όλα έδιναν ένα χρώμα γιορτής/ και μετά αυτό ολοκληρώθηκε με τη γιορτή που κάναμε στο σχολείο/ που δούλευα την πρώτη χρονιά/ γιατί εδώ που τα λέμε εγώ μέσω της δουλειάς μου νιώθω τα χριστούγεννα/ δούλευα σ' ένα ιδιωτικό εκεί πέρα/ είχαμε πρώτη τάξη/ στολίσαμε λοιπόν όλη την τάξη/ ετοιμάσαμε τη γιορτούλα με τραγούδια με ποιήματα/ εκείνη την ημέρα ήταν το κάτι άλλο/ ίσως επειδή ήταν η πρώτη χρονιά που έκανα γιορτή με μικρά παιδιά/ βέβαια και τις άλλες χρονιές πάρα πολύ έντονα τα θυμάμαι τα χριστούγεννα/ αλλά ίσως εκείνη επειδή ήταν η πρώτη χρονιά που έκανα μαζί με τα παιδιά μου έχει μείνει αλησμόνητη/ τα παιδάκια που κάνανε τα τραγουδάκια τα ποιηματάκια/ όλοι αυτοί οι γονείς/ ήρθαν στο σχολείο/ τραγουδήσαμε μαζί/ μετά ανταλλάξαμε δώρα/ και μένα μου κάνανε υπέροχα δώρα/ και τι δε μου πήρανε/ μαντίλες αρώματα στολίδια για το δέντρο μου/ μερικά τα 'χω ακόμα έτσι για ανάμνηση/ και πραγματικά ήταν άλλο πράγμα/ είναι αλήθεια ότι έχω περάσει κι άλλα χριστούγεννα μα πάρα πολλά χριστούγεννα/ μα αυτά έχουν μείνει μες στην ψυχή μου/ όταν τα θυμάμαι νιώθω μια συγκίνηση/ πάνε τώρα κάποια χρόνια/ κάποιες δεκαετίες δηλαδή/

I remember the first Christmas I spent in Athens/ I'd just graduated/ I worked in Athens/ and I remember how I'd go to the shops before Christmas/ window shopping/ stuff you couldn't get in the country/ Christmas is colourful in the country too/ but it seemed to have more charm bright lights and luxury in Athens/ I gazed at the shop-windows so prettily decorated/ and everyone busy shopping/ the stall salesmen/ and everything had a festive colour/ and all this came to a climax with the party at the

school/ where I worked the first year/ because come to think of it it's through my job that I experience Christmas/ I worked at a public school over there/ we had the first year infants/ so we decorated the whole classroom/ we prepared the "little" party with cards and rhymes/ that day it was really something/ maybe because it was my first time spending Christmas with little children/ of course I have vivid memories of other Christmas/ but maybe because it was the first year I spent with my class that made it unforgettable/ and it really was something/ all the little kids who sang "little" songs and poems/ all those parents who came to the school/ we sang together/ afterwards we gave each other gifts/ and they gave me some wonderful gifts/ they really went overboard with me/ scarves perfumes Christmas tree decoration/ I still keep some of them for the memories/ and it was really something special/ it's true I've spent other Christmas/ quite a few in fact with my classes/ but that year is unforgettable/ when I remember it I am always moved/ it's been a few years- decades rather/

Georgia K.

(10) εγώ έχω ένα σκύλο μεγάλο/ τόσο περίπου/ σαν τη Λάσση στην τηλεόραση/ την έχετε δει την εκπομπή/ [ποιά Λάσση]/ την εκπομπή στην τηλεόραση/ [ποιά εκπομπή]/ τη Λάσση/ εν πάση περιπτώσει όταν σηκώνεται όρθιος φαίνεται - το κεφάλι του είναι κάπου 'δω/ το βλέπω μπροστά μου να φανταστείς/ λοιπόν κι ήτανε ένα σκυλάκι το οποίο το μεγάλωσα από μικρό/ εγώ έμενα στην Πάτρα παλιά/ και τώρα μένω στην Καλαμάτα/ και τον μεγάλωσα/ κι επειδή δεν είχα χώρο να τον πάρω στο σπίτι μου/ ενώ στην Πάτρα είχε αυλή/ και τον είχα και γύρναγε/ τον πήγα στο σπίτι μου/ σπίτι που μένουν οι γονείς μου/ λοιπόν τον πήγα σπίτι μου το καλοκαίρι/ τον άφησα εκεί/ και έφυγα/ και τώρα ξαναπήγα να δω τους γονείς μου/ να δω και το σκύλο/ και να περάσω χριστούγεννα μαζί τους/ και το βράδυ λοιπόν που πήγα στο σπίτι τους ρώτησα πού είναι ο Γκόρμπυ/ Γκόρμπυ τον λένε τον σκύλο/ από το Γκορμπατσόφ αν έχετε ακούσει καμιά φορά/ το ίδιο όνομα έχει/ λοιπόν ρώτησα πού είναι ο Γκόρμπυ/ μου λένε εδώ είναι/ λέω θα τον πάρω να τον πάω βόλτα/ αλλά μετά με απασχολήσανε οι δικοί μου/ έλα μέσα να σε δούμε/

άσ' τον Γκόρμπυ τώρα να τα πούμε/ και το 'να και τ' άλλο/ και ξέχασα να
 τον πάω/ μετά όταν θυμήθηκα και βγήκα έξω να τον βρω/ πού πήγε ο σκύλος/
 πουθενά/ τότε άρχισα να ψάχνω/ έψαξα από 'δω από 'κει/ πουθενά ο σκύλος/
 την άλλη μέρα το πρωί πήγαμε στο κτήμα/ και τον βρήκαμε εκεί το σκύλο/
 είχε πάει εκεί/ λοιπόν τον φώναξα το σκύλο μου/ και δεν ερχόταν καθόλου/
 ο σκύλος με είδε και δεν ερχόταν καθόλου/ τι είχε γίνει/ εγώ όταν του έλεγα
 να πάμε βόλτα στην Πάτρα τον πήγαινα/ δεν τον κοροΐδευα ποτέ/ κι αυτός
 όμως καταλάβαινε ότι θα πηγαίναμε βόλτα/ μου 'φερνε το λουρί ο ίδιος/ τον
 έδενα γιατί τον έπαιρνα από το λουρί/ και τον πήγαινα βόλτα/ αλλά αυτή τι
 φορά τον κοροΐδεψα/ και δεν τον πήγα/ κι ο σκύλος θύμωσε/ λοιπόν τι μας λέει
 αυτή η ιστορία/ [τι μας λέει]/ ότι τα σκυλιά είναι σαν άνθρωποι/ δεν κάνει να
 τους λες ψέματα/ [κι εγώ είχα ένα σκυλάκι...]

I got a big dog/ this big/ like Lassie on the telly/ have you seen the show/ [which
 Lassie?]/ haven't you seen the show on the telly/ [which show]/ the show with Lassie
 (from the way the two children are looking at each other and at the narrator, it is
 obvious that they are not familiar with the show)/ anyway/ when he stands on his hind
 legs his head is somewhere up here/ I can see him in front of me now/ so I took him
 as a little puppy and have raised him since then/ I lived in Patra then/ and now as you
 know I live in Kalamata/ and I raised him/ and because I no longer had enough room
 for him/ while my house in Patra had a yard/ and he could run around/ I took him
 home to my parents/ so I took him to my parents' home last summer/ I left him there/
 and then came back/ now I went back home to see my parents/ see the dog too/ and
 spend Christmas with them/ so I arrived some time in the evening/ and asked them
 where's Gorby/ the dog's name is Gorby/ after Gorbachev if you've heard of him/
 he's got the same name/ so I asked where's Gorby/ they tell me he's here/ I say I'll
 take him for a walk/ but then my parents held me up/ come and let's have a look at
 you/ don't worry about Gorby/ and that kind of thing/ and I forgot all about him/ and
 later when I went to find him/ I couldn't find him anywhere/ the dog was just gone/
 he was nowhere to be found/ then I started looking for him/ I looked everywhere/ the
 dog was nowhere to be seen/ next morning we went to the field/ and this is where we

found the dog/ he'd gone to the field/ so I called his name/ and he didn't come to me/ the dog saw me and didn't come to me at all/ what had happened/ all the previous times that I had told my dog that I'd walk him I'd indeed had/ I'd never cheated him/ and he knew when we'd go for a walk/ he'd bring me the leash himself/ and I'd put it around his neck/ and I'd walk him/ but this time I cheated him/ and I didn't walk him/ and the dog was mad at me/ so what does this story tell us/ [what what does it tell us]/ that dogs are like people/ you should never tell them lies/ [I had a little puppy as well...] (Andreas, one of the two children-addressees, initiates his own story about his dog)

Dimitris V.

(11) όταν ήμουν μικρή/ ήμουν οχτώ χρονών/ μια μέρα μας έφερε ο πατέρας μου στο σπίτι ένα λαγό/ που τον είχανε πιάσει σ' ένα αγρόκτημα/ τον χτυπήσανε έτσι με μια πέτρα/ ζαλίστηκε ο λαγός/ τον πιάσανε/ και μας τον φέρανε ζωντανό το λαγό στην Αγία Παρασκευή/ - στο Χολαργό μάλλον που μέναμε παλιά/ εκεί παίζαμε μαζί με το λαγό/ τον βάζαμε κάτω/ περπατούσε μέσα στο σπίτι/ τελικά τον πήγαμε το λαγό σε μια αποθήκη/ κι ερχόντουσαν όλα τα παιδιά/ και βλέπανε το λαγό/ μια μέρα όμως εκεί που μπήκε η μητέρα μου να καθαρίσει το λαγό/ και να του δώσει καινούργιο φαγητό/ χτυπάει μια στην πόρτα ο λαγός/ την ανοίγει με δύναμη και πετάγεται έξω/ φωνάζει η μητέρα μου κατευθείαν έφυγε ο λαγός/ κατεβαίνουμε εμείς κάτω και τι να δούμε/ άδειο το σπίτι του λαγού/ αρχίζουμε να τρέχουμε πίσω από το λαγό/ μπροστά ο λαγός πίσω εμείς/ μπροστά ο λαγός πίσω εμείς/ βέβαια ο λαγός έτρεχε πολύ πιο γρήγορα/ και τελικά τον χάσαμε το λαγό/ αλλά μετά από τρεις μέρες μάθαμε ότι τον πιάσανε το λαγό οι υπάλληλοι από ένα σουπερμάρκετ κοντά σε ένα δρόμο/ τον κάνανε ειδικό φαγητό/ και στο τέλος τον φάγανε/ δεν ήθελα να το σκέφτομαι/ το αγαπημένο μας λαγουδάκι έπεσε θύμα των κακών ανθρώπων της πόλης ενώ έψαχνε να βρει την ελευθερία του/ και να γυρίσει πίσω στο δάσος του μαζί με τα άλλα λαγουδάκια/

when I was small/ I was eight/ one day our father brought home a hare/ which they caught on a farm/ they hit him with a straw/ the hare was dazed/ they caught him/ and they brought the hare alive to Aghia Paraskevi/ -no actually it was Holargos where we used to live/ there we played with the hare/ we let him loose/ he ran freely in the house/ eventually we put the hare in a shed/ and all the kids used to come/ and they'd watch the hare/ one day though while mum had gone into the shed to clean up the hare/ and give him fresh food/ the hare springs at the door/ opens it forcefully and leaps out/ mum shouts at once quick the hare made a run for it/ we come running downstairs to see what/ empty the house of the hare/ we start running after the hare/ the hare in front us behind/ the hare in front us behind/ obviously the hare was much too fast/ and in the end we lost the hare/ but three days later we heard that some employees at the local supermarker caught the hare near the main road/ they cooked him specially/ and ate him in the end/ I didn't want to think about it/ our beloved little hare fell prey to the evil city dwellers/ while trying to escape to freedom/ and go back to his forest where the other little hares live/

Bessy F.

C. Written Corpus

(12) Ήταν πριν από καμιά δεκαριά χρόνια που είχε χτυπήσει ο αδελφός μου σε αυτοκινητιστικό ατύχημα. Θυμάμαι ήταν Κυριακή πρωί, και καθώς γυρίζαμε από βόλτα, ο μπαμπάς οδηγώντας έπεσε πάνω στο μπροστινό αυτοκίνητο. Θεέ μου, σοκαριστήκαμε όλοι. Και περισσότερο αυτός. Όσο τον θυμάμαι τώρα. Έβρεχε πολύ και επειδή ασυναίσθητα πάτησε φρένο θεωρούσε ότι ήταν ο ίδιος υπεύθυνος για την κακή του οδική αντίδραση. Κατά συνέπεια και για το ατύχημα του αδελφού μου. Το κακομοιρούλη μου, μωρέ. Καθόταν στο πίσω κάθισμα και πώς τα έφερε η κακιά η ώρα και πήγε και σφηνώθηκε η ασφάλεια της μπροστινής πόρτας στο μάτι του. Ήταν η πρώτη μου φορά στο νοσοκομείο Παίδων. Απαίσια εμπειρία. Τόσα παιδάκια να περιμένουν τους γιατρούς και να κλαίνε, κι ο μπαμπάς μου να στέκεται απ'έξω, μαζί μου, και να καπνίζει. Η ώρα ήταν ατέλειωτη. Μέσα η μαμά με τον Μάκη

ετοιμαζόντουσαν για ράμματα κι ο μπαμπάς μου κάπνιζε. Φέρνω στην μνήμη μου τώρα την εικόνα του. Τρομερό! Τέλος πάντων!

Ο Μάκης τελικά χρειάστηκε να καθίσει μέσα για καμιά βδομάδα και απ' ό,τι καταλάβαινα πέρναγε αρκετά καλά στο νοσοκομείο. Το πιο περίεργο ήταν που του έλειπε το σχολείο και οι φίλοι του. Κι από την άλλη μεριά, λάτρευε τη νοσοκόμα και τ'αυτοκινητάκια που του έφερνε.

It must have been about ten years ago when my brother was injured in a car accident. I remember it was on a Sunday morning, and as we were coming back from a day trip, as dad was driving we crashed into the car in front. My god, we were all stunned. And he most of all. I can remember it well. Because it was raining cats and dogs he unconsciously broke too hard and then blamed himself for reacting poorly to the situation. And therefore for my brother's injury. My poor little brother. He was sitting in the back and, as luck would have it, his eye hit the door's safety lock. It was the first time I had been to the Children's Hospital. A terrible experience. All those children waiting for doctors to look at them in tears, and my father sitting outside chain-smoking. We had to wait ages. Mum was inside with Makis preparing him for the stitches and Dad was chain-smoking. I can still picture the image. Terrible! Anyway!

Eventually, Makis had to stay in hospital for a week or so and from what I understood he had a pretty good time there. The oddest thing was that he missed school and his classmates. But on the other hand, he adored the nurse and the toy cars she brought him.

Virginia F., WSA

(13) Θυμάμαι όταν είχε πάει ο αδερφούλης μου στο νοσοκομείο. Ήταν μια Κυριακή, μετά τις καθιερωμένες βόλτες στο Λούνα-Παρκ όταν ήμασταν μικρότεροι. Ήταν πολύ άσχημος ο καιρός και γυρίζοντας με το αυτοκίνητο,

ο μπαμπάς μου σε κάποια στιγμή απροσεξίας τράκαρε τον μπροστινό οδηγό.

Δεν καταλάβαμε πώς, αλλά ο Μάκης χτύπησε στο μάτι του και χρειάστηκε να πάμε στο νοσοκομείο να τον δει ο γιατρός. Τελικά, χρειάστηκε να τον χειρουργήσουν εκείνη τη μέρα.

Έμεινε συνολικά στο νοσοκομείο καμιά δεκαριά μέρες, και πήγαινα συνέχεια και τον έβλεπα. Μου έλεγε πως δεν πόναγε καθόλου. Το μόνο που τον ενοχλούσε είναι ότι δεν πήγαινε σχολείο να δει τους φίλους του και να παίζει. Μόνο η <<καλή του>> νοσοκόμα ερχόταν το πρωί και του έφερνε κάθε μέρα και από ένα αυτοκινητάκι για να περνάει η ώρα του. Τον είχαμε στα ώπα-ώπα και ήταν αστείο που στο τέλος δεν ήθελε να φύγει γιατί του άρεσαν <<οι πορτοκαλάδες του νοσοκομείου, το κουμπί που άναβε το φως και ... η νοσοκόμα>>.

Η ηλικία αυτού; ... 12 ετών!

I remember when my little brother was in hospital. It was one Sunday, after our usual trip to the fairground when we were younger. The weather was terrible and as we were coming back in the car, my father lost his concentration for a moment and crashed into the back of the car in front.

We don't know how, but Makis was injured in the eye and needed to be taken to the hospital to have it looked at by a doctor. In the end, they had to operate on him the same day.

He stayed in hospital about ten days, and I'd go and visit him every day. He kept on telling me it didn't hurt at all. The only thing he didn't like was that he couldn't go to school and see and play with his classmates. It was only his "favourite" nurse who came every morning and brought him a new toy car to play with to pass the time. We

pampered him and the funny thing was that in the end he didn't want to leave because he liked "the hospital orangades, the button which turned on the light, and ... the nurse".

His age? ... 12 years old.

Virginia F., WSC

(written counterpart of ex. 3, p. 411)

(14) Πριν μερικά χρόνια όταν η κόρη μου ήταν δύο ετών συνέβη το εξής δυσάρεστο γεγονός.

Ήταν απόκριες. Πήγαμε στη Νεστάνη να παρακολουθήσουμε το καρναβάλι. Τα παιδιά ήταν χαρούμενα, έπαιζαν, έτρεχαν, γελούσαν, διασκεδάζαν. Όταν τελείωσε η γιορτή μπήκαμε στο αυτοκίνητο να φύγουμε. Κρατούσα το παιδί στα χέρια μου. Σε μια στιγμή το αισθάνομαι να γέρνει. Κοιτάζω, τι να δω! Ήταν αναίσθητο με τα μάτια ακίνητα. Νόμισα πως πέθανε. Άρχισα απεγνωσμένα να του κάνω τεχνητή αναπνοή ενώ τρέχαμε προς το νοσοκομείο. Σε λίγο φθάσαμε. Το άρπαξαν οι γιατροί και έτρεξαν στο χειρουργείο.

Δεν περιγράφεται η αγωνία και ο φόβος μας τις στιγμές εκείνες της αναμονής. Μετά από αρκετή ώρα, βγήκε ένας γιατρός και μας καθυσήχασε προς το παρόν. Το παιδί είχε πολύ υψηλό πυρετό 42 και με διάφορα μέσα προς στιγμήν τον έριξαν λίγο.

Η διάγνωση όμως ήταν δύσκολη. Ίσως ήταν εγκεφαλίτιδα ίσως μηνιγγίτιδα γι' αυτό με ασθενοφόρο φύγαμε κατ' ευθεία για το νοσοκομείο των Παίδων στην Αθήνα. Μετά από μια εφιαλτική διαδρομή, φθάσαμε στην Αθήνα. Η διάγνωση των γιατρών ήταν: απλή πνευμονία. Ανασάναμε με ανακούφιση.

Βέβαια η νοσηλεία (δέκα ημέρες με ορούς και ενέσεις) ήταν δύσκολη και κουραστική. Ήταν όμως παιχνιδάκι μπρος σ' αυτά που αρχικά φοβηθήκαμε, κ' ευτυχώς δεν έγιναν.

It was a couple of years ago when my daughter was two that the following unfortunate event happened.

It was during the carnival period. We went to Nestani to attend the carnival. The children were happy, they played, ran, laughed, enjoyed themselves. Once the festivities had finished, we got in the car to return home. I was holding my daughter in my arms. At some point, I felt her head drop limply. I look down only to see that she was unconscious, her pupils were still. I thought she died. Desperately, I started to apply mouth-to-mouth resuscitation as we rushed to the hospital. We got there soon. The doctors quickly took her and rushed into the operating theatre.

There are no words to describe our agony and fear as we waited. After a while, a doctor came out and calmed us down momentarily. The child had a very bad fever, 42 degrees, and using various techniques they had brought it down for the time being.

The diagnosis though was difficult. It could have been encephalitis, or maybe even meningitis, so she had to be rushed by ambulance straight to the Sick Children's Hospital in Athens. After a nightmarish ride, we arrived in Athens. The doctors' diagnosis was: simple pneumonia. We breathed a sigh of relief.

Of course the recuperation (approximately ten days on drips and injections) was difficult and tiring. But it was child's play compared to what we had originally feared of, and which fortunately was not the case.

Ritsa T., WSA

(15) Όταν η Ελενίτσα ήταν μικρούλα, αρρώστησε πολύ-πολύ σοβαρά και παρ' ολίγο να πάει στον ουρανό. Είχαμε πάει λοιπόν στο καρναβάλι σε ένα χωριουδάκι. Αφού παίξαμε και διασκεδάσαμε με τα άλλα παιδιά και χορέψαμε γύρω από τον καρνάβαλο φύγαμε. Στο δρόμο όμως η Ελένη αρρώστησε πολύ, κοκκίνησε δεν μπορούσε να ανασάνει και να κουνηθεί.

Βάλαμε λοιπόν την κόρνα στο αυτοκίνητο και τρέξαμε γρήγορα στο νοσοκομείο. Εκεί την πήραν οι γιατροί και την εξέτασαν. Της έβαλαν το θερμόμετρο και τι να δουν, ο πυρετός είχε ανέβει στο 42. Της βάλαμε λοιπόν βρεγμένες πετσέτες, της κάνανε ενέσεις και έπεσε λίγο ο πυρετός. Μετά τη βάλαμε στο ασθενοφόρο.

Με τις σειρήνες λοιπόν δυνατά φύγαμε για την Αθήνα όπου υπάρχει ένα νοσοκομείο μεγάλο μόνο για τα άρρωστα παιδάκια. Εκεί λοιπόν την πήραν καλοί γιατροί και την εξέτασαν και βρήκαν την αρρώστεια: ήταν πνευμονία. Είχε φαίνεται κρυώσει πολύ, γιατί ήτανε μικρούλα και δεν καταλάβαινε.

Έμεινε στο νοσοκομείο 10 ημέρες. Εκεί να δεις ορούς και σωληνάκια και ενέσεις και κλάμματα. Ήταν και πολλά άλλα παιδάκια άρρωστα που τα φροντίζαν οι γιατροί.

Τελικά η Ελενίτσα έγινε καλά. Την πήραμε από το νοσοκομείο γεμάτοι χαρά και τη φέραμε στο σπίτι.

Έτσι σώθηκε από την άσχημη αυτή αρρώστεια και τώρα είναι μια μεγάλη και γερή κοπελίτσα.

When Elenitsa was small, she got very very sick and almost went to heaven. So we'd gone to the carnival in a little village. After playing and enjoying ourselves with the other little children and running round the maypole we left. On the way back though, Eleni became very ill, her face was inflamed, she couldn't breathe or move.

So we started honking and driving fast towards the hospital. The doctors there took her and examined her. They checked her temperature with a thermometer, only to see that it had risen to 42 degrees. So we put wet towels on her, they gave her injections and the fever fell slightly. Then we put her in an ambulance.

So, with the sirens in full blast we left for Athens where there is a big hospital specially for sick little children. Good doctors took her and examined her and found that she had pneumonia. It seems she had gotten a very bad cold, because she was little and didn't know.

She stayed in hospital about ten days. You should have seen the drips and tubs and injections and tears. There were many other sick children there which the doctors took care of.

Eventually Elenitsa got well again. We took her from the hospital feeling so happy and brought her back home.

That's how she recovered from that terrible illness and is now a strong, grown up girl.

Ritsa T., WSC

D. Children's Narratives

(16) μια μέρα εγώ πήγαινα στο σχολείο μου/ και βλέπω ένα συμμαθητή μου και του λέω/ πάμε στο σχολείο;/ και τότε αυτός το πήρε απάνω του/ και πέρναγε ένα αυτοκίνητο/ και πάει να περάσει/ και του λέω μην περνάς/ αλλά αυτός έτρεξε/ και κόντεψε να τον κόψει το αυτοκίνητο/ και μετά όταν πήγαμε στο σχολείο το είπα στο δάσκαλο/ και τον μάλωσε/ και του λέει να μην το κάνεις άλλη φορά στο δρόμο/ γιατί είναι πολύ επικίνδυνο/ και μετά το 'πα και στη μητέρα - και στη μητέρα του/ και τον μάλωσε κι αυτή/ και τον συμβούλεψε

να μη βγαίνει στο δρόμο άμα είναι αμάξια/ και τότε την άλλη μέρα όταν ξεκινήσαμε για το σχολείο/ αυτός περίμενε εμένα να περάσω απέναντι/ να περάσει πρώτα το αυτοκίνητο/

one day I was going to school/ and I meet one of my classmates and I say/ do you want to go to school with me?/ and he took this as a compliment/ and a car was going by/ and he was about to cross the road/ and I tell him not to/ but he was running/ and the car almost ran him over/ and afterwards when we got to school I told the teacher/ and he told him off/ and he tells him don't ever cross the road like that again/ because it's very dangerous/ and then I told my mother- eh his mother/ and she told him off too/ and advised him not to cross the road if there are any cars/ and then the next day when we set off for school/ he waited for me to cross/ to let the car go by before crossing/

Katerina H.

(17) θυμάμαι που ήτανε μια εκδρομή σε ένα δάσος με το σχολείο/ την προηγούμενη που είχαμε πάει ((πάνω))/ κι είδαμε μια σακούλα με κόκκαλα/ και λέγαμε ότι ήτανε ανθρώπινα/ κι είχε εκεί κι ένα πόδι κατσικιού/ και μετά τους είπα εγώ ότι μέσα σε κείνο το μαγαζάκι του δάσους είναι μια γριά/ που μοιάζει σαν τη γριά που ναι στο παραμύθι με το σπίτι/ που 'ναι στο Αγγλικό/ και τα βάραι τα παιδιά/ τα παίρνει και τα βάραι/ επειδή σπάνε τα μπουκάλια/ είναι μια χοντρή/ και μου λέει ο Ζαχαρίας/ κάτσε να περάσουμε μη μας δει η χοντρή/

I remember when we went on an excursion to the woods with the school/ the day before going ((up there))/ we came across this bag which was full of bones/ and we said they were human/ and there was a lamb's leg in it as well/ and then I told them that there's an old lady in that store in the woods/ who's like the old lady in the fairy

tale with the house/ in the English fairy tale/ and she beats children up/ she takes them and beats them up/ 'cos they break bottles/ she's really fat/ and then Zaharias tells me/ watch out/ let's go by so that the old lady won't catch us/

Akis K.

(18) εγώ είχα- ε κοιμόντουσαν οι δικοί μου/ ήτανε μεσημέρι/ κι εγώ είχα πάρει τη μπάλλα μου κι έπαιζα/ κι ήτανε το καλό βάζο της μαμάς/ κι εκεί που έπαιζα ρίχνω μία στο τραπέζι/ και πέφτει κάτω το βάζο/ πάω να το πιάσω αλλά πέφτει κάτω στο χαλί/ και σπάει/ διαλύεται/ το ακούει η μαμά/ ανοίγει εκεί/ λέει βοήθεια/ έρχεται τι να δει/ το καλύτερο βάζο από τη Γερμανία/ μετά άρχισα εγώ να τρέχω γύρω από το τραπέζι/ και δε με έπιασε τελικά/ και με συγχώρεσε/ και μια άλλη φορά της είχα σπάσει ένα άλλο βάζο/ ήτανε χριστούγεννα/ φτιάχναμε το δέντρο εκεί/ και μου έπεσε/

I had- um my parents were asleep/ it was in the afternoon/ and I was playing with my ball/ and there was my mum's best vase/ and as I was playing the ball hit the table like this/ and the vase falls off/ I try to catch it but it falls on the carpet/ and it smashes/ breaks up into tiny little pieces/ my mum hears the noise/ she opens the door/ she screams help/ she comes in only to see her best vase from Germany/ then I started running around the table/ but in the end she didn't manage to catch me/ and she forgave me/ and there was another time I'd broken one of her vases/ it was Christmas/ we were decorating the Christmas tree/ and I dropped it/

Eleni G.